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THE HISTORY TO  
OF T. R. O'MEARA.

# THE PRAYER BOOK

OF THE  
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY THE LATE VENERABLE  
EDWARD BERENS, M.A.

ARCHDEACON OF BERKS.



PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE  
TRACT COMMITTEE.

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## PREFACE.

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OF the Prayer Book, by far the greater part consists of the very words of Scripture;—as, the Psalms, the Epistles and Gospels, the Scriptural Hymns, and other select passages. The remainder of it expresses the sentiments and the spirit of Scripture, generally in Scriptural language.<sup>1</sup> It might be well if this was borne in mind by those who disparage the Liturgy of the Church of England, and treat it with neglect, perhaps with contempt. Let such persons consider whether they do not expose themselves to the censure of the Apostle: “He therefore that despiseth, despiseth not man, but God.”<sup>2</sup>

The little book that is now offered to the public has but slight pretensions to originality. It is, in great measure, a compilation from such works

<sup>1</sup> Numerous references to Scripture are given in the margin of the Prayer Book of Bishop Mant. The passages thus referred to are, for the most part, given at length by Veneer. Both books deserve to be consulted.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Thess. iv. 8.

as appeared to furnish the information which was most likely to be interesting and useful. In the early history of the Liturgy, I have been greatly indebted to that valuable book, the "*Origines Liturgicæ*" of Mr. Palmer. The subsequent history of the Prayer Book is, of course, intimately connected with the history of the Reformation of the Church of England. That history, a few years ago, was to be collected chiefly from the folios of Fuller, Heylin, Collier, Burnet, and Strype. Recently, it has been brought before the public in a most acceptable manner by the learned and copious histories of Mr. Soames; by "*The Book of the Church*" of that master of the English language, Dr. Southey; by the spirited "*Sketch of the Reformation*," by Mr. Blunt; by the very able, honest, and impartial history of the Church of England by Dr. Short; and by the eloquent and interesting Biographies of Wickliffe, Cranmer, Jewel, and Laud, by Mr. Le Bas. The present work, however, is principally extracted from the folios before alluded to. The account of the Second Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth is taken (with some abridgment), almost verbatim, from the accurately-learned Preface prefixed by Dr. Cardwell to his highly-valuable publication of "*The Two Prayer Books of Edward the Sixth compared together*;" a book which reflects honour on his industry and



research, and on the University, from whose press so many important works throwing light on the history of the Reformation have recently issued.

For comments upon the several portions of the Prayer Book, I must refer the reader to the well-known liturgical works of the pious and eloquent Comber, L'Estrange, Nichols, Wheatly, Waldo, and Shepherd<sup>1</sup>; and especially to the edition of the Prayer Book published some years ago by Bishop Mant, which is enriched with notes, historical, explanatory, and practical, taken from the writings of very many of our most sound and able divines.

EDWARD BERENS.

*September, 1839.*

<sup>1</sup> See also the Prayer Book with Notes, by the late Mr. Justice Bayley.



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THE HISTORY  
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CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF THE PRAYER BOOK OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND  
—ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE—FIRST PRAYER  
BOOK OF EDWARD VI.

THE wise and pious men, who, towards the middle of the sixteenth century, engaged in the work of freeing the Church of England from the blemishes and imperfections which had crept in during the darkness of the middle ages, were obliged to proceed with wary and hesitating steps during the reign of the despotic and capricious Henry. Attached, by early education and habit, to most of the peculiar doctrines of Romanism, his personal vanity was enlisted in the same cause, by the praises which, from almost all parts of Europe, had been lavished upon his book against Luther in defence of the seven sacraments maintained by the Church of Rome; for which book he received from the Pope the title of "Defender of the Faith." Henry's natural abilities were good; his attainments as a

scholar and a theologian were by no means inconsiderable; and his exaggerated notions of his prerogative as king concurred with his confidence in his own intellectual powers in rendering him little disposed to brook any opposition to his will. In the early part of his reign there was in his character much that was generous and amiable; but towards the close of it, when his temper was soured by the disappointment of his hopes of happiness from marriage, by the attempts of the court of Rome to incite his subjects to sedition and rebellion, by the practices of its emissaries, and at length by disease, he degenerated into a sanguinary tyrant. Protestants and Papists were in almost equal danger. On the one hand, Sir Thomas More, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, two of the most learned, honest, and pious men in the kingdom,<sup>1</sup> were brought to the scaffold for denying the king's ecclesiastical supremacy; and, on the other, Bilney and Frith, and the noble-minded Anne Askew, together with many other conscientious and single-hearted persons, were consigned to the flames for not admitting that the actual body of Christ was present in the Holy Eucharist. In one instance, on the very same day that three Protestant Clergymen, Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerom, were burnt in Smithfield for combating the tenets of the Church of Rome; Abel, Fetherstone, and Powel, three zealous Romanists, were executed as traitors, for denying the king's supremacy.<sup>2</sup>

Henry the Eighth died the 29th of January 1547, and the accession of his son, Edward the

<sup>1</sup> Both Fisher and More, however, persecuted to the death those whom they called heretics.

<sup>2</sup> Collier, vol. ii. p. 182.

Sixth, gave fresh hopes and encouragement to the advocates of the Reformation. Edward was affectionately attached to Cranmer, who had been one of his sponsors at the baptismal font; and his education had been intrusted to Dr. Richard Cox, one of the ablest and most learned supporters of unadulterated religion.

The deceased king left a will, which was drawn up about two years previously, but by his direction transcribed, signed, and attested, about a month before his death. In his will<sup>3</sup> Henry appointed Cranmer, together with fifteen persons of rank, most of them high officers of state, to be his executors. Among these, the Earl of Hertford was elected, and forthwith proclaimed, Protector of the realm, and governor of the King's person until he should complete the age of eighteen years. For this office he was deemed most fit, as being the king's uncle by the mother's side, very near to him in blood, but yet not in any degree capable of succeeding to the crown. In about a fortnight after his appointment to this dignity he was created Duke of Somerset.<sup>4</sup> The Protector was well disposed to further the work of reformation; and under his auspices it made rapid progress, though no step was taken precipitately, or without much consideration.

One of the first objects of Cranmer and his fellow-

<sup>3</sup> The will begins thus: "In the name of God, and of the glorious and blessed Virgin, our Lady St. Mary, and of all the holy company of Heaven." It requires the Dean and Canons of Windsor "to keep yearly four solemn orbits" for the deceased monarch; and then, in the same clause, goes on to establish the Poor Knights of Windsor.

<sup>4</sup> Hayward's History of Edward VI.

labourers was, to enable the people of this land to join in the public worship of the Church, both with the spirit and the understanding, by having that worship celebrated in their own language. They justly argued, that "it was a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have public prayer in the Church, or to minister the sacraments in a tongue not understood of the People." The several separate books, however, for the public offices of the Church—the Missal or Mass Book, the Breviary, and the Ritual<sup>1</sup>—were at that time all in Latin. These books were not only in Latin, but also, though in substance they contained much that was primitive and excellent, and well calculated for the purposes of devotion, yet many later additions had been made to them, strongly tainted, in the judgment of our Reformers, with superstition and error. Accordingly, in the first year of Edward's reign, the Convocation inquired into the progress which had been made, at their desire, in examining, reforming, and publishing the Divine Service; and in the following year the king appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury, with other learned and devout bishops and divines, to draw an order for Divine worship, having respect to the pure religion of Christ taught in the Scrip-

<sup>1</sup> These books were in separate volumes. The Missal or Mass Book was for the most part very ancient, and furnished the ground-work of our present Office for the Holy Communion. The Breviary, which in some degree answers to our present Morning and Evening Service, seems to have had its name from its being formed out of the several Service Books, the Antiphonarium, the Hymarium, the Collectarium, &c. &c., used in the Latin Church. For that Latin Ritual were substituted our Offices for Baptism, Confirmation, Matrimony, Visitation of the Sick, and Burial of the Dead.



ture, and to the practice of the Primitive Church.<sup>2</sup> With Cranmer were associated Ridley and five other bishops, and also six distinguished divines, one of whom was Cox, almoner and preceptor to the King, and dean of Westminster and Christ Church, Oxford.<sup>3</sup> The Prayer Book was probably compiled by only a few of the Commissioners, particularly Cranmer and Ridley: discussed and assented to by others; and, when enacted, protested against by three of the bishops, Day, Skyp, and Thirlby.<sup>4</sup>

In entering upon this important undertaking, Cranmer and his associates proceeded with that wisdom and prudence which characterized all their proceedings. Their object was, not to innovate, but rather to prune away and remove innovations. It was their wish, according to their commission, to retain whatever was sanctioned by Scripture and by primitive usage, and to reject nothing but what savoured of superstition, or tended to encourage erroneous views, either of doctrine or of religious worship. Nothing was farther from their thoughts than the presumptuous notion of composing an entirely new form of public devotion. They adopted, in great measure, the formularies which had long been established in the country, and sanctioned by general use; merely freeing them from the blemishes which had adhered to them during a period of

<sup>2</sup> Cardwell, from Strype.

<sup>3</sup> Fuller and Strype. Burnet gives a different list. It is not improbable that the larger number was appointed in the first instance, in the year 1547, when the Order of the Communion was to be drawn up, and was afterwards reduced to the commission mentioned by Strype, when the object was to compose a Book of Common Prayer.—Cardwell.

<sup>4</sup> Ridley's Life of Ridley.

ignorance and superstition, and making such scriptural additions as they appeared to require.

It seems to have been often assumed by learned men, that there was originally some one apostolic form of Liturgy<sup>1</sup> in the Christian Church, to which all the monuments of ancient Liturgies, and the notices which the fathers supply, might be reduced. But the truth is, there are several different forms of Liturgy now in existence, which, as far as we can perceive, have been different from each other from the most remote period. The Oriental Liturgy was established, as its name imports, in the Eastern parts of Christendom; the Alexandrian was used in Egypt, Abyssinia, and the country extending along the Mediterranean towards the West; the Roman prevailed throughout Italy, Sicily, and the civil diocese of Africa; and the Gallican Liturgy was adopted throughout Gaul and Spain.<sup>2</sup> A substantial uniformity appears to have pervaded them all, though this uniformity did not preclude some degree of variation. The bishop of each Church seems to have possessed the authority of altering his own Liturgy by the addition of new ideas and rites: and the exercise of this power, either individually or collectively, accounts for the variations which we find in the Liturgies now extant, originally derived from the same general model.

It is clear, from the testimony of ancient writers, that the religion of Christ had been preached in the British isles, and many converts made, at a very early

<sup>1</sup> Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*. N.B.—Mr. Palmer uses the word "Liturgy" in the restricted sense, as denoting the service used in the celebration of the Eucharist.

<sup>2</sup> Palmer.

period. In the fifth century, Christianity seems to have been generally embraced throughout England. When, in the year 429, Germanus Bishop of Auxerre<sup>3</sup> and Lupus Bishop of Troyes, were sent into this country to arrest the progress of Pelagianism, they are said to have brought with them the Gallican Liturgy, which differed materially from that in use at Rome, and was similar to, or rather identical with, the Spanish or Mozarabic<sup>4</sup> Liturgy, which had long been adopted in Spain.<sup>5</sup> This fact, however, appears not to be clearly established. Towards the end of the following century, the Saxons, by repeated victories, had obtained possession of nearly the whole of England. As their conquests extended, they established their own heathenism, demolished the Christian Churches, and suppressed the true worship, as far as their dominions reached. Paganism became the prevailing religion, and the Church of Christ was nowhere visible to any degree, excepting in Wales, Cornwall, and Cumberland, where the Saxons had been unable to penetrate.<sup>6</sup>

It was this depressed state of the Church which

<sup>3</sup> Collier, vol. i. pp. 43 and 48.

<sup>4</sup> Mozarabic, so called by a wrong pronunciation of mixed Arabic; the Saracenic or Arab conquerors of Spain being mixed and incorporated with the original inhabitants. That excellent man and able minister, Cardinal Ximenes, took effectual care to preserve the Mozarabic rites. He ordered the Missal to be fairly transcribed, and founded a College of Priests, who are bound by their constitution to say the Mozarabic service every day in a chapel belonging to the Cathedral at Toledo. The same practice was continued in several parishes in that city, and in a chapel at Salamanca.—Collier, ii. 253.

<sup>5</sup> See that excellent and most learned book, *Palmer's Origines Liturgicæ*, vol. i. pp. 8 and 166.

<sup>6</sup> Collier, vol. i. c. 61, 62.

induced Gregory the Great, in the year 596, to send Augustine the monk into England, to attempt the conversion of its Saxon conquerors. In the year after his arrival, having made considerable progress in the great work on which he was sent, and having been himself consecrated at Arles as Metropolitan of the English nation, Augustine despatched messengers to Rome to announce his success, and to request the Pope's resolution of several questions. One of these questions was, that since there was such a diversity between the offices of the Roman and Gallican Churches, he desired to know which he should follow. Gregory's answer was, that he should choose that which was most proper for the English Church.<sup>1</sup> One of the highest authorities on this subject, however, says, "There can be no doubt that Augustine and his companions carried with them the Sacramentary of Gregory, by whom they were sent." In fact, the liturgical books of the Anglo-Saxon Church in subsequent times were nothing else but transcripts of that Sacramentary. As, however, each bishop had the power of making some alterations in the Liturgy of his Church, in process of time different customs arose, and several became so established as to receive the names of their respective Churches. Thus gradually the "uses" or customs of York, Sarum, Hereford, Bangor, Lincoln, Aberdeen, &c., came to be distinguished from each other.<sup>2</sup>

The Missals and other ritual books of York and Hereford have been printed. The "use" or custom of Sarum derives its origin from Osmund, Bishop of that see in 1078, and Chancellor of England. Of Osmund we are informed that he built a new cathedral; collected together clergy,

<sup>1</sup> Collier, vol. i. p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Palmer, vol. i.

distinguished as well for learning as for a knowledge of chanting; and composed a book for the regulation of ecclesiastical offices, which was entitled the "Custom Book." The substance of this was probably incorporated into the Missal, and other ritual books of Sarum; and ere long almost the whole of England, Wales, and Ireland adopted it.<sup>3</sup> The other Missals and Rituals used in England differed from it very little.

Nearly at the same time that Osmund established in his diocese, and ultimately in the greater part of England, his book of Divine Offices, the arrogant and imperious Hildebrand<sup>4</sup> determined that the liturgy of the universal Church should be performed in Latin only. For seven or eight hundred years<sup>5</sup> the service of the Church was, generally speaking, performed in the vernacular or common language of every country.<sup>6</sup> How it happened, that a custom so contrary to reason and common sense as that of celebrating the public service in a language not "understood of the people" should have prevailed, and should still prevail so extensively in Europe, it may be expedient to explain.

The conquering arms of the Romans had introduced their language very generally into the countries of Western Europe and of the north of Africa. In these countries, Latin, being generally spoken by the more educated class, became the language of their literature, of their courts of law, and of religion. The use of Latin, however, as in some sort the vulgar tongue, which had prevailed

<sup>3</sup> Palmer, vol. i. pp. 186, 187.    <sup>4</sup> Pope Gregory VII.

<sup>5</sup> Bingham says 1000.

<sup>6</sup> This assertion is supported, says Heylin (Hist. Ref. p. 66), by Lyra and Aquinas, two as great clerks as any in the Church of Rome. See 1 Cor. xiv. 9. 16.

throughout the countries alluded to, gradually ceased in several of them during the course of the ninth century; and the language of the first conquerors was insensibly corrupted or superseded by the barbarous jargon of their more recent invaders. Latin thus became a subject of study, and all knowledge of it was presently confined to the priesthood and men of learning.

It seems clear, however, that in France, as well as in Italy, the services of the Church continued to be performed entirely in Latin, and even that sermons were for some time delivered in that tongue to an audience most imperfectly acquainted with it. But in Spain, the Gothic ritual had supplanted the Roman—if indeed the Roman had at any time been received in Spain,—and at the middle of the eleventh century it was universally prevalent in that Church. Soon after that time, by the united influence (as is said) of Richard the papal legate, and Constance queen of Leon, Alfonso, the sixth of Leon and the first of Castile, was persuaded to propose the introduction of the Roman liturgy. The nobility, and the people, and even the majority of the clergy, warmly supported the established form; and after some heats had been excited on both sides, a day was finally appointed to decide on the perfections of the rival rituals. To this effect, recourse was had, according to the customs of those days, to the “judgment of God;” and the trial, to which they were first submitted, was that by combat. Two knights contended, in the presence of a vast assembly, and the Gothic champion prevailed. The king, dissatisfied with this result, subjected the rituals to a second proof, which they were qualified to sustain in their own persons, the trial by fire. The Gothic

liturgy, says the old Spanish historian, from whom the story is taken, resisted the flames, and was taken out unhurt, while the Roman yielded and was consumed. The triumph of the former appeared now to be complete, when it was discovered that the ashes of the latter had curled to the top of the flames, and leaped out of them. By this strange phenomenon the scales were again turned, or, at least, the victory was held to be so doubtful, that the king, to preserve a show of impartiality, established the use of both liturgies. It then became very easy, by an exclusive encouragement of the Roman, effectually, though gradually, to banish its competitor.<sup>1</sup>

It is probable that in England all the offices of the Church were performed generally in Latin some time before the Norman Conquest. And not only were the public offices of the Church performed in Latin, but the Latin translation of the Holy Scriptures, commonly called the Vulgate, was the only translation which was permitted to be in common use.

At the commencement of the Christian era, the Latin was generally supplanting the Greek as a *general* language, and it soon might be called the language of the Western Church. From the testimony of Augustine, it appears that the Latin Church possessed a very great number of versions of the Scriptures, made at the first introduction of Christianity, the authors of which are unknown. One of these Latin translations appeared to have acquired a more extensive circulation than the

<sup>1</sup> Waddington's History of the Church, vol. ii. p. 97 (from M'Crie). A narrative substantially the same, but differing in a few minute particulars, is given by Robertson, Charles V., vol. i. note xxii.

others, under the name of the "Old Italic." Towards the close of the fourth century, Jerome, who had previously engaged in a review of the old Italic version, translated the Old Testament from the Hebrew into Latin. This version, which surpasses all former ones, at length acquired so great authority from the approbation it received from Pope Gregory I., that ever since the seventh century it has been exclusively adopted by the Roman-Catholic Church, under the name of the Vulgate version: and a decree of the Council of Trent, in the sixteenth century, commanded that the Vulgate alone should be used, whenever the Bible is publicly read, and in all sermons, expositions, and disputations; and pronounced it to be authentic.<sup>1</sup>

As by far the greater part of the Common Prayer Book consists of the very words of Scripture, and the whole of it is founded upon Scripture, it may be expedient here to mention what steps were taken for the purpose of enabling the people of this land to read the Bible in their own language.

It was a distinguished maxim with the Reformers, that the Scriptures were the great repository, the storehouse of religious truth, and that all doctrines essential to salvation were to be deduced from the Bible, and to be supported by its authority. It was always, therefore, their anxious wish that the people at large should have the power of reading and consulting the Scriptures in their vernacular or common tongue. With this view the Bible had been translated into English by Wickliffe, about the year 1380. This version was made from the Vulgate, the Latin translation in common use: Wickliffe not being sufficiently acquainted with

<sup>1</sup> Hartwell Horne, vol. ii.



the Hebrew and Greek languages to translate from the originals. Before the invention of printing, transcripts were obtained with difficulty, and copies were so rare, that in 1429 the price of one of Wickliffe's Testaments was not less than four marks and forty pence, or two pounds sixteen shillings and eight pence: a sum equivalent to more than forty pounds<sup>2</sup> at present. This translation was very instrumental in preparing the people for the reformation of the Church of England, which was carried into effect about one hundred and fifty years afterwards. ✂

For the first printed English version of the Scriptures we are indebted to William Tindal, who, having formed the design of translating the New Testament from the original Greek into English, removed to Antwerp for the purpose. Here, with the assistance of the learned John Fry or Fryth, who was burnt on a charge of heresy in Smithfield in 1552, and a friar called William Roye, who suffered death on the same account in Portugal, he finished it; and in the year 1526 it was printed without a name, either at Antwerp or Hamburgh. Many copies of this translation found their way into England; and to prevent their dispersion among the people, and the more effectually to enforce the prohibition published in all dioceses, against reading them, Tonstal, Bishop of London, purchased all the remaining copies of this edition, and all which he could collect from private hands, and committed them to the flames of St. Paul's Cross. The first impression of Tindal's translation being thus disposed of, several other editions were published in Holland, before the year 1530. These found a ready sale; but those which were imported

<sup>2</sup> Hartwell Horne, vol. ii. p. 234.

into England were ordered to be burned. On one of these occasions, Sir Thomas More, who was then Chancellor, and who concurred with the Bishop in the execution of this measure, inquired of a person who stood accused of heresy, and to whom he promised indemnity on consideration of an explicit and satisfactory answer, "How Tindal subsisted abroad, and who were the persons in London that abetted and supported him?" To which the heretical convert replied, "It was the Bishop of London who maintained him, by sending a sum of money to buy up the impressions of his Testament." The Chancellor smiled, admitted the truth of the declaration, and suffered the accused person to escape. The people formed a very unfavourable opinion of those who ordered the Word of God to be burned, and concluded that there must be an obvious repugnance between the New Testament and the doctrine of those who treated it with this indignity. Those who were suspected of importing and concealing any of these books were adjudged by Sir Thomas More, in the court of Star Chamber, to ride with their faces to the tails of their horses, with papers on their heads, and the New Testaments and other books which they had dispersed hung about their cloaks, and at the Standard in Cheapside to throw them into a fire prepared for that purpose, and to be fined at the King's pleasure.<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime, Tindal was busily employed in translating into English the five Books of Moses, in which he was assisted by Miles Coverdale. He afterwards translated the rest of the historical books of the Old Testament, and the prophet Jonas.

<sup>1</sup> Hartwell Horne.

Upon his return to Antwerp, in 1531, King Henry VIII. and his Council contrived means to have him seized and imprisoned. After long imprisonment he was condemned to death by the Emperor's decree in an assembly at Augsburg; and in 1536 he was strangled at Villefort, near Brussels, the place of his imprisonment, after which his body was reduced to ashes. He expired, praying repeatedly and earnestly, "Lord! open the king of England's eyes." Several editions of his Testament were printed in the year of his death. Tindal had little or no skill in Hebrew, and therefore he probably translated the Old Testament from the Latin.<sup>2</sup>

In 1535, the whole Bible, translated into English, was printed in folio, and dedicated to the King by Miles Coverdale, a man greatly esteemed for his piety, knowledge of the Scriptures, and diligent preaching; on account of which qualities King Edward VI. advanced him to the see of Exeter. Soon after this Bible was finished, in 1536, Lord Cromwell, keeper of the privy seal, and the King's Vicar-general and vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, published Injunctions to the clergy by the King's authority, the seventh of which was, that "every parson or proprietary of any parish-church within this realm should, before the first of August, provide a book of the whole Bible, both in Latin and in English, and lay it in the choir, for every man that would to look and read therein."

In 1537, another edition of the English Bible was printed by Grafton and Whitchurch in Germany. It bore the name of Thomas Mathewe, and it was set forth with the King's most gracious licence. The name of Mathewe is allowed to have

<sup>2</sup> Hartwell Horne's Introduction to the Scriptures.

been fictitious, for reasons of prudence. It may well be admitted, that John Rogers, a learned academic, and the first who was condemned to the flames in the reign of Queen Mary, was employed by Archbishop Cranmer to superintend this edition, and to furnish the few emendations and additions that were thought necessary.

“It was wonderful,” says Strype, the ecclesiastical historian, “it was wonderful to see with what joy this book was received, not only among the more learned, and those who were noted lovers of the Reformation, but generally all over England, among all the common people; and with what avidity God’s Word was read, and what resort there was to the places appointed for reading it. Every one that could, bought the book, and busily read it or heard it read, and many elderly persons learned to read on purpose.”

In 1538 it was resolved to revise Matthewe’s Bible, and to print a correct edition of it. With this view Grafton went to France, where the workmen were more skilful, and the paper was both better and cheaper than in England, and obtained permission from Francis I., at the request of King Henry VIII., to print his Bible at Paris. But notwithstanding the royal licence, the inquisitors interposed, and the impression, consisting of 2500 copies, was seized, and condemned to the flames. Some chests, however, of their books escaped the fire, being kept for the purpose of being sold as waste paper, and the English proprietors, who had fled on the first alarm, returned to Paris as soon as it subsided, and not only recovered some of these copies, but brought with them to London the presses, types, and printers, and, renewing the work, finished it in the following year. In April

1539, Grafton and Whitchurch printed the Bible, called the "Great Bible," in large folio. This impression for the large volume was revised by Coverdale, who compared the translation with the original, and corrected several places. And now, to make it less offensive, the notes were omitted, and a Preface of Cranmer's added, which is probably the reason of its being called Cranmer's Bible.<sup>1</sup> This appears to be the edition from which the Psalms, and the Epistles and Gospels, in Edward the Sixth's Liturgy, were taken.

Some advances towards allowing the use of the English language in the public service, were made by the publication of Henry the Eighth's Primer, 1545. In the Preface the King says, "We have set out and given to our subjects a determinate form of praying in their own mother-tongue, to the intent that such as are ignorant of any strange or foreign speech may have what to pray in their own acquainted and familiar language," &c. And again, "We have judged it to be of no small force for the avoiding of strife and contention, to have one uniform manner or course of praying throughout all our dominions." This Primer contains, in English, the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, together with Prayers, Suffrages, Hymns, and select passages of Scripture for morning and evening devotion. It gives, also, in English, the Litany—nearly the same with that which we now use—to be said alternately by the priest and people. Towards the end are several excellent prayers (for the most part taken from the Scriptures, and from the Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus,) on particular occasions, for particular

<sup>1</sup> Cellier, vol. ii. 183.

graces and blessings, and against particular sins. And together with these are given, "A fruitful prayer to be used at all times," "A devout prayer unto Jesu Christ, called O bone Jesu," "A Prayer to be said at the hour of death," and "A general confession of sins unto God." These prayers, however, are all evidently intended for private devotion, not for congregational or public worship.<sup>1</sup>

As the Holy Eucharist had, through the perverseness of man, been unhappily made the occasion of the fiercest dissension, and as resistance to the doctrine of the Church of Rome respecting this Sacrament had, during the late reign, brought so many persons of both sexes to the stake, it was an object of primary importance to set the minds of the people at rest upon this important subject as soon as possible. In the first year of the reign of Edward, the Convocation having unanimously approved of the measure, an Act of Parliament was passed (Dec. 1547), converting the mass<sup>2</sup> into a communion, and requiring that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be delivered to the people, and under both kinds.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See "The Three Primers put forth in the reign of Henry VIII.," printed at Oxford in 1834, under the superintendence of the excellent and deeply-learned Dr. Burton.

<sup>2</sup> Cardwell.

<sup>3</sup> The word "mass" is now generally applied to the Lord's Supper, as administered by the Church of Rome, but it should seem, most erroneously, if the origin and meaning of the term be taken into the account. The word is the same with the ancient Latin term "missa," which was a general name for every part of Divine Service. One of the most learned liturgical writers of the Roman Church\* judiciously remarks that the word "missa" has at least three significations. It sometimes signifies the lessons, sometimes the collects or prayers, and sometimes the dismissal of the people. In-

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\* Mabillon.

In furtherance of this object, a commission was about the same time issued to Cranmer, and the other divines above alluded to, requiring them to prepare an Office for the Holy Communion. Within four months afterwards, on the 8th of March 1548, the Office was completed;<sup>4</sup> but still a considerable portion of it continued to be read in Latin,<sup>5</sup> in compliance with the prejudices of the Romanists. It was forthwith published, with the King's Proclamation enjoining the use of it, and advising men "to content themselves with following authority, and not to run before it; lest by their rashness they should become the greatest hinderers of such things, as they, more arrogantly than godly, would seem, by their own private authority, most hotly to set forward."<sup>6</sup>

It appears that a new Commission was now addressed to the same divines (the Commissioners formerly mentioned), directing them to prepare a complete collection of Divine Offices for public worship. This Commission met at Windsor in May 1548, and drew up a book of Common Prayer, which was approved by Convocation, and finally ratified by an Act of Parliament in the ensuing January. It was enjoined to be used for all Divine Offices from the feast of Whit Sunday following, and was published by Whitchurch, on the 4th of May 1549.<sup>7</sup> This Prayer Book was substantially the same with that which we now have,

deed, the third is the original meaning of the word; for "missa" is the same as "missio." It was the form used in the Latin Church, "Ite, missa est," the solemn words used at the dismissal, of the Catechumens first, and then, of the whole assembly afterwards, at the end of their respective services. Bingham, Book xiii. chap. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cardwell, from Strype.

<sup>5</sup> Collier.

<sup>6</sup> Ridley's Life of Ridley, Book iv. p. 222. <sup>7</sup> Cardwell.

though several additions were made to it, and some parts of it altered, in successive reviews. What the most important of these additions and alterations were, will be mentioned hereafter.

It has already been observed, that it was the object of Cranmer and his fellow-labourers to retain as much of the existing formularies as possible, only translating them from Latin into English. How excellently this translation was made must be apparent to every person of cultivated taste or of devotional feelings. It has been forcibly and justly said, in allusion to the use of the ancient liturgies, "These helps, which our Reformers did not disdain, they showed themselves able to improve, correcting what was objectionable in doctrine, removing what was offensive in taste, and often communicating, by some happy expression, even an additional glow of devotion to passages in themselves (it might have been thought) too beautiful to touch; for in the whole compass of English literature, many as are the excellent versions of ancient writings which it can boast, it would be in vain to look for any specimens of translation (merely to put the case thus) so vigorous, so simple, so close, and yet so free from all constraint, as are afforded by the Offices of our Church."<sup>1</sup> In what other versions in our language shall we seek for such a combination of fidelity and freedom—of simplicity and majesty?<sup>2</sup>

Though the Commission for preparing the Book of Common Prayer consisted entirely of English divines, who had completed their task before the most eminent of the foreign Reformers had even

<sup>1</sup> Blunt's Sketch of the Reformation in England.

<sup>2</sup> Le Bas, Life of Cranmer. See the instances given by those two writers.—themselves such great masters of eloquent language.



arrived in England, the new Liturgy was greatly indebted, whenever it deviated from the ancient Breviaries and Missals, to the progress which had been made on the Continent, in the reformation of religious worship. One of the most remarkable occurrences which the eventful history of the times has recorded of the state of Germany is the attempt made by Herman, Elector of Cologne, a Roman-Catholic Archbishop, and sovereign prince, to establish within his electorate a purer system of doctrine and discipline. His attempt was ultimately unsuccessful; but the zeal and energy of the venerable Prelate, and the learning and prudence with which his measures were conducted, attracted the notice, and secured the respect and sympathy, of all Protestant Churches. He resigned his see in the year 1547; but he had previously published a book, the composition of which had been intrusted to Melancthon and Bucer, containing his views of a "Christian Reformation founded on God's Word." This book was translated into English, and published in the year 1547. It cannot be doubted that the book of Herman was much employed by the Commissioners assembled at Windsor in the compilation of their new form of Common Prayer. In the great body of their work, indeed, they derived their materials from the early services of their own Church; but, in the Occasional Offices, it is clear, on examination, that they were indebted to the labours of Melancthon and Bucer; and through them to the older Liturgy of Nuremberg, which those Reformers were instructed to follow.<sup>3</sup>

It may be expedient to mention some of the in-

<sup>3</sup> Cardwell, almost verbatim.

stances in which the Prayer Book, thus compiled, differed from the Breviary and Missal, which had been previously used in the daily Morning and Evening Service. The Reformers began, as did the Breviary, with the Lord's Prayer, because in this the Breviary agreed with the primitive Church; but omitted the Ave Maria, in which the Virgin Mary was desired to pray for them; a practice unknown to the early Christians, and not introduced till about the year of Christ 470. This, in the Breviary, was followed by the Apostles' Creed, which our Reformers introduced after reading the Scriptures,—a more suitable position, inasmuch as the Creed may be considered as a summary of truths collected from the Scriptures.

The Versicles, Gloria Patri, and Allelujah, being authorized by the ancient Church, were retained; as was the 95th Psalm in the Morning Service.

The Psalms had been divided into seven long portions called Nocturns, yet of late they were not gone through with; a few of them only having been daily<sup>1</sup> said, and the rest omitted. This was now so regulated, as that, reading a convenient portion every morning and evening, the whole book of Psalms might be repeated over every month.

The practice of reading Lessons from the Scriptures was derived from the Jewish to the Christian Church, in both which they were read in order, so as to go through the Scriptures once a year.<sup>2</sup> “But these many years past,” says our Reformers, “this godly and decent order of the ancient fathers had been so altered, broken, and neglected, by planting in uncertain stories and legends, with multitudes of responses, verses, vain repetitions, commemora-

<sup>1</sup> Preface to Prayer Book.    <sup>2</sup> Ridley's Life of Ridley.

tions, and synodals, that commonly when any book of the Bible was begun, after three or four chapters were read out, all the rest were unread. And in this sort the Book of Isaiah was begun in Advent, and the Book of Genesis in Septuagesima; but they were only begun and never read through. After such sort were other books of Holy Scripture used."<sup>3</sup>

In the Breviary, the Creed of St. Athanasius was ordinarily appointed on Sundays; instead of which our Reformers appointed the Apostles' Creed, except on the feasts of Christmas, the Epiphany, Easter, Ascension Day, Whit Sunday, and Trinity Sunday. Several of the Suffrages—the short petitions offered by the Minister and people alternately—which are found in the Breviary, were omitted.<sup>4</sup>

The Collects for the day will be spoken of in connexion with the Communion Service. The second Collect at Matins was, in the Breviary, a prayer, "that we might receive blessings in this life and the next through the intercession of the blessed Virgin Mary." A third for All Saints, "that the intercession of the holy Mother of God, of all the heavenly powers, of the blessed Patriarchs, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins, and of all God's Elect, might make us everywhere to rejoice, that, while we celebrate their merits, we might receive their protection."<sup>5</sup> There was a fourth Collect for the whole Church; and the last for Peace, which was the same with our second Collect at Evening Prayer. Our Reformers omitted the three former of these Collects, and

<sup>3</sup> Preface to Prayer Book.

<sup>4</sup> Ridley's Life of Ridley.

<sup>5</sup> Ridley's Life of Ridley.

made their second Collect "for peace," both at Morning and Evening Prayer;—and their third was, in the morning for Grace, in the evening for Aid against all Perils, the last being taken from the Greek Liturgies.

The term "Litany" was, in the first ages, applied in general to all prayers and supplications; but, in the fourth century, belonged most especially to solemn offices, which were performed with processions of the Clergy and people. Such processions are still continued by the Church of Rome. The Litany in Henry the Eighth's Primer, which is very nearly the same with that in the Prayer Book, is called "this common Prayer of procession." It was principally taken from the Latin Litany, compiled by Pope Gregory from the Apostolical Constitutions, the Office of St. Ambrose, and other ancient Litanies. In this Litany, after the address to the Holy Trinity, are three distinct supplications to the Virgin Mary, and about fifty<sup>1</sup> to individual Angels and Saints, by name and collectively, to "all holy Angels and Archangels, and all holy orders of blessed Spirits, to all Patriarchs and Prophets, all holy Apostles, Evangelists, and Disciples of the Lord, all holy Innocents, Martyrs, Pontiffs, Confessors, Doctors, Priests and Levites, Monks and Hermits, all holy Virgins and Widows," imploring the benefit of their intercession. These supplications appear still to be retained in the Missal used by the Romanists in this country. They were, however, struck out by our Reformers, who adopted, from Henry the Eighth's Primer,

<sup>1</sup> This number is taken from the Missal used by the Romanists in this country; thirty are to be omitted on Holy Saturday. The Missal of Pius V. gives about twenty separate addresses to Angels and Saints, by name.

supplication for deliverance, "from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his abominable enormities."

In the then established Latin Liturgy, and in the first Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth, the Communion Service began with a Psalm or portion of a Psalm, appropriate to the Service of the day, which, from its being sung or said while the Priest made his entrance within the rails of the altar, was called Introit.

The Collects for the Sundays, and other Holy-days, are short, pious, and impressive prayers, so called, either because the priest offers up, in a comprehensive petition, the collected prayers of the people, or because the substance of them is collected out of the Holy Scriptures, generally from the Epistles and Gospels with which they are connected.<sup>2</sup> They are, most of them, very ancient. Gelasius, who was Bishop or Patriarch of Rome in the year of our Lord 492, arranged the Collects, which were then used, into order, and added some new ones of his own. This Office was again corrected by Gregory the Great, in the year 600, whose Sacramentary contains most of the Collects we now use; forty-four of them—comprising thirty-six of those for Sundays—being taken from it. Nine other of our present Collects were altered to their present form at the last review of the Liturgy, 1662. Twenty-four were composed anew, but still not without attention to the formularies of the ancient Church.<sup>3</sup> Among these new Collects are twelve for Saints' days; the Collects previously in use having too frequently a reference to the *inter-*

<sup>2</sup> Wheatly.

<sup>3</sup> Bishop Mant, from Cosins, Shepherd, &c.; but see particularly Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*.

cession, or expressing a reliance upon the *merits*, of the saint commemorated; a reliance not warranted by Scripture.

The Epistles and Gospels are thought to have been selected by St. Jerome, and put into the *Lecti-  
tionary* by him. It is certain that they were very anciently appropriated to the days on which we now read them; since they are, for the most part, not only of general use throughout the whole Western Church, but are also commented upon in the Homilies of several ancient Fathers, which are said to have been preached on those very days to which these portions of Scripture are now affixed. So that they have, most of them, belonged to the same Sundays and Holydays on which we now use them for above twelve hundred years. With what excellent judgment they have been selected, with reference both to faith and to practice, will be evident to any one who attentively peruses them.<sup>1</sup>

In the old Common Prayer Books, the Epistles and Gospels were taken out of the Great Bible, neither of the two last translations being extant when the Common Prayer was first compiled. But on account of the defects which were observed in that version, and upon the petition of the Presbyterian Commissioners at the Savoy Conference in 1662, it was determined that the Epistles and Gospels should be used according to the last translation.<sup>2</sup>

In the Roman Liturgy, anciently, a Psalm was sung after the Epistle, which was called the *Gra-*

<sup>1</sup> The remark may appear trifling; but, upon going through the several apostolical Epistles in the New Testament, for the purpose of selecting the passages relating to Christian practice, I found that nearly all these passages had already found place as Epistles in the Prayer Book.

<sup>2</sup> Wheatly and Palmer.

*dual* or *Grail*, and is still used in that Church.<sup>3</sup> This was omitted by our Reformers. Formerly, when the reader had given out the title of the Gospel, the people with one voice exclaimed, "Glory be to thee, O Lord." This custom appears to have prevailed from remote antiquity, and still prevails in many churches in England, though not prescribed by the Rubric; as may be remarked also of the words, "Thanks be given to God," in some churches said by the congregation after the Gospel. Both were afterwards prescribed in the *Scotch Liturgy*.

In the Office for the actual celebration of the Holy Eucharist, our Reformers showed that caution and respect for antiquity which they had evinced in the other parts of the Prayer Book. As to the Elements themselves, the Romanists used unleavened wafers of the shape and size of a small piece of money,<sup>4</sup> stamped with a crucifix.<sup>5</sup> Our Reformers ordered, "that, for avoiding all matter and occasion of dissension, it is meet that the bread prepared for the Communion be made through all this realm after one sort and fashion, that is to say, unleavened and round, as it was afore, but without all manner of print, and something more large, and thicker than it was, that so it may be aptly divided in divers pieces." The wine in the Roman Church was to be mixed with a little water, which practice was continued. The elevation by the Priest of the

<sup>3</sup> The Psalm, or verse of a Psalm, sung after the Epistle, was always entitled Gradual, from being chanted on the steps (gradus) of the pulpit. When sung by one person, without interruption, it was called Tractus; when chanted alternately by several singers, it was termed Responsary Palmer, vol. ii. p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> The Roman denarius.

<sup>5</sup> Ridley's Life of Ridley; and Collier.

Sacramental Elements, that they might be adored by the people, the use of incense, the many crossings,<sup>1</sup> bowings, genuflexions, and the direction to the Priest to kiss the paten and the altar, were omitted.

The Occasional Offices of our Church, when they vary from the forms previously in use, seem principally to have been derived from the Cologne Liturgy, drawn up by Melancthon and Bucer, which has been already mentioned. In our Baptismal Service the resemblance between the two is particularly striking.<sup>2</sup> Some ceremonies, which were afterwards omitted, may here be mentioned. In Baptism, exorcism was used, the unclean spirit being solemnly commanded by the Priest, in the name of the blessed Trinity, to come out and depart from the infant about to be baptized; the infant was anointed, then dipped, and had the chrysom<sup>3</sup> put upon it. In Confirmation, the Bishop was to cross the person in the forehead. In Matrimony, bracelets and jewels were to be given as tokens of spousals. In visiting the sick, unction on the forehead and breast, if desired, was allowed. In the Burial Service, the Priest was to cast earth upon the corpse, and to recommend the soul to God. At churching, the woman was to offer up her chrysom. These ceremonies, having much antiquity to plead for them, and the people having been long habituated to them, our Reformers found it inconvenient, if not impracticable, at once and entirely to discontinue.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Two of the crossings were retained.

<sup>2</sup> Laurence's Bampton Lectures (notes), p. 440.

<sup>3</sup> The anointed linen cloth.

<sup>4</sup> Ridley's Life of Ridley, p. 245.



## CHAPTER II.

## SECOND PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI.

IT was clearly shown, by the disturbances which, especially in the more distant counties, were excited among the people attached to rites and ceremonies, and tenets, to which they had been long accustomed, that in the Prayer Book, thus constructed, the Commissioners had gone to the utmost limits of prudence. On the other hand, it is equally clear, that several of the tenets and ceremonies retained by them did not meet with support from the foreign Reformers, and awakened the hostility of many of the most active and zealous of their own countrymen. Before the close of the year 1549, Calvin wrote to the Protector Somerset, complaining of several parts of the Service, on information which he appears to have obtained from Bucer. Alasco<sup>5</sup> addressed himself to Cranmer on the continuance of certain practices which he deemed superstitious; and Martyr and Bucer, then holding respectively the office of King's Professor of Theology in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, were not likely to continue silent respecting prayers and ceremonies, which they formally reported to be unsound and dangerous, when they were consulted afterwards by Cranmer.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Alasco was a Polish nobleman, a man of distinguished learning and piety, who quitted his native country for the sake of the free exercise of his religion, and became superintendent of the foreign reformed congregations in London.

<sup>6</sup> Cardwell, from whose learned Preface much of this account of the second Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth is taken.

Great, however, as was the authority of these and other distinguished foreigners, it was neither proclaimed as boldly, nor calculated to make as much impression, as the earnest remonstrances of many of the English Reformers, and the progress which their cause was constantly and manifestly making. There was already within the Church a party, though probably not numerous, which espoused the peculiar sentiments of Calvin; there were others, and Cranmer, it appears, had recently been one of them, who adhered strictly to the opinions of Luther: there were many, and those among the most active and most learned, who adopted the views of Bullinger and the theologians of Zurich: there was still a larger body, who wished to combine all classes of Protestants under one general confession. All these, though with distant objects and different degrees of importance, looked forward to a revision of the Liturgy, which might bring it more completely into accordance with their own sentiments.

These expectations soon began to produce their natural effect. In the Convocation of 1550 the question was entertained in each House, whether certain rubrics and other passages could not be altered; and an especial reference was made to the form of words with which the sacred elements were given to communicants. But the greatest impulse was derived from the known sentiments of the King himself, and of the leading members of the Council.<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime, as the Book of Common Prayer contained no form of consecrating and ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, the Com-

<sup>1</sup> Cardwell.

missioners had drawn up an Office for that purpose, which was now confirmed by an Act of Parliament, and published in March 1550. This might naturally be considered the termination of their labours; but there is reason to believe that the Commission was not discharged, and that the same persons, who still continued members of it, were soon afterwards instructed to revise the whole Book of Common Prayer, and to introduce such alterations as might seem to them to be required.

It is stated by Heylin, and repeated by Collier, that the alterations which were now made in the Liturgy, were owing to the remonstrances of Calvin, and the active co-operation of Martyr and Bucer. But this is probably an exaggeration. It does not appear, however anxious Calvin may have been to offer his assistance, that his peculiar opinions were approved, or his advice either sought or rejected, by the Primate and the other Commissioners: and it is clear, on examination, that the faults discovered by Martyr and Bucer, of which they drew up a report at the request of Cranmer, were neither all that were admitted to exist by English divines, nor were themselves corrected, in most instances, in the way that Martyr and Bucer recommended.

The Commissioners appear to have completed their revision of the Book of Common Prayer before the end of the year 1551. Early in the next year, a Bill for the Uniformity of Divine Service, with the Book of Common Prayer annexed to it, was brought into the House of Lords, and was finally passed in the House of Commons, and returned to the Lords, on the 14th of April, 1552. It was ordered, that the new service should be issued throughout the kingdom from the Feast of All Saints following.

Some of the principal alterations which were made upon the review of the Prayer Book shall now be mentioned.

At the end of the Preface was added a Rubric, enjoining all Priests and Deacons to say daily the Morning and Evening Service, privately or openly, "except they be letted by preaching, studying of divinity, or by some other urgent cause."<sup>1</sup> The Service was to be said in that part of the church where the people could best hear; and the use of the alb, cope, and tunicle<sup>2</sup> was prohibited, the Priest and Deacon being only to wear a surplice, and the Bishop and Archbishop his rochet. In the corresponding Rubric in the First Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth, the direction is, "In the saying or singing of Matins and Evensong, baptizing, and burying, the Minister in parish churches and chapels annexed to the same shall use a surplice." And then, after some directions respecting the wearing of hoods belonging to degrees, it follows: "And whensoever the Bishop shall celebrate the Holy Communion in the church, or execute any other public ministration, he shall have upon him, beside his rochet, a surplice or alb, and a cope or tunicle, and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else borne or holden by his chaplain."

An important alteration was, the addition of the Sentences, Exhortation, Confession and Absolution,<sup>3</sup> in the beginning of the Morning Service, which previously began with the Lord's Prayer. The Lord's Prayer is well known to have been always considered as especially the "Prayer of the

<sup>1</sup> See the Rubric.

<sup>2</sup> See Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*, and Plates.

<sup>3</sup> These, in the second Book of Edward, were omitted in the Evening Service, which began, as before, with the Lord's Prayer.

faithful," the peculiar inheritance of sons. Our Reformers appear to have thought it expedient, previously to being admitted to the privilege of joining in this prayer, that the congregation should join in a penitential acknowledgment of unworthiness, and should be encouraged by the Church's authoritative declaration of God's pardon and forgiveness "to all them which truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy Gospel." The Sentences, Exhortation, and Confession, seem to have been suggested by, and partly taken from, a form of prayer used by Calvin, first at Strasburg, and afterwards at Geneva. ✓

The Responses after the Lord's Prayer were altered from the singular number to the plural ("open thou our lips," instead of "open thou my lips," &c. &c.): and the "Hallelujah" at the end of them was omitted; as was also the order for singing in a plain tune after the manner of distinct reading, "in such places where they do sing," the Lessons, and likewise the Epistles and Gospels; and likewise the order for using the Song of the Three Children in Lent only. The hundredth Psalm was inserted to be read, sometimes, after the Second Lesson in the morning; as were also the ninety-eighth to be used after the First, and the sixty-seventh after the Second, Lesson in the Evening Service. The daily Service, both for morning and evening, appears to have concluded with the three Collects; the first for the day, the second for peace, the third for grace, and protection from all perils.<sup>4</sup> 3 4 5

The Athanasian Creed, which in the First Book, was appointed only on the great Festivals, was 6

<sup>4</sup> Ridley's Life of Ridley, Book v. p. 335.

now directed to be said on so many of the Saints' Days, that it might come in course once in every month.

The Litany was placed next to the Morning and Evening Service: and the use of it was enjoined on Sundays, as well as on Wednesdays and Fridays. The occasional Prayers, for Fair Weather; In the time of Dearth and Famine; In the time of War; and, In the time of any Common Plague or Sickness, were added at the end of it.

In the Communion Service, including the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, several important alterations were made. The Introits (the Psalms used at the beginning of the Office, when the officiating Priest went up to the Communion-table) were all omitted; as was likewise the double Communion at Christmas and Easter; the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, which were retained, being the same with those now in use; and the Hymn for Easter Day, which, in the First Book, was ordered to be sung before Matins, was now appointed instead of the ninety-fifth Psalm; the Hallelujahs, Versicles, and Collect at the end being omitted. The Collect for Easter Day was ordered to be repeated on Low Sunday. The feast of St. Mary Magdalene (July 22) was struck out of the Calendar.<sup>1</sup> The Service for this day went entirely on the supposition that Mary Magdalene was the sinner spoken of in the seventh chapter of St. Luke. This opinion is countenanced by the heading of the chapter in the authorized translation of the New Testament, and is alluded to by good men of those times, and of the preceding centuries,

<sup>1</sup> Ridley's Life of Ridley, from which book most of this account of the alterations made on this Review is taken.

without doubt or hesitation. Yet it appears, on inquiry, to be an opinion not at all supported by the Fathers, and to have had its origin in a Popish legend. Now, we know that one Mary has had her good deed recorded as a memorial of her to all nations, and it would be painful to think we might be commemorating another in a character of which she was guiltless. The Collect for the Feast of St. Andrew was changed for that now used, and the Gospel for Whit Sunday continued, as at present, to the end of the chapter. 11

In the title of the Office for the Holy Communion, the words, "commonly called the Mass," 11 were omitted. In the first Book of Edward, the Rubric says, "the Priest that shall execute the holy ministry shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say, a white albe plain, with a vestment or cope;" and of the assistant Priests and Deacons, that they "shall have upon them likewise the vesture appointed for their ministry, that is to say, albes with tunicles." In the second Book this is omitted. The words in the first Book, "The Priest standing humbly afore the midst of the altar," are changed to "the Priest standing at the north side of the table." The triumphant hymn of praise, which is now used immediately before the Blessing at the conclusion of the Communion Service, stood, in King Edward's first Book, almost at its commencement. In its place was introduced the rehearsal of the Ten Commandments, with a supplication after each, for pardon of the transgression thereof for the time past, and for grace to keep the same for the time to come. The Commissioners, it should seem, were induced to make this alteration 12

by the same feeling which led them to begin the Daily Service with the Sentences, Exhortation, and Confession; the feeling, that our solemn public devotions should begin with an expression of penitence and humiliation, and that by the law is the knowledge of sin.<sup>1</sup>

In both King Edward's Prayer Books the Collect for the Day preceded the Prayer for the King, after which came the Epistle and Gospel, the Nicene Creed, and the Sermon or Homily. If in the Sermon there was no exhortation to the worthy receiving of the Sacrament, the Curate, in the first Book, was directed to read the Exhortation (the third in our Prayer Book), which is now used at the time of the celebration of the Holy Communion. After which is a Rubric, which says, "In Cathedral Churches and other places where there is daily communion, it shall be sufficient to read the Exhortation above written once in a month; and in Parish Churches, upon the week-days it may be left unsaid." Next follows, in the first Book, an Exhortation to the Holy Communion, bearing considerable resemblance to that which now stands first in our Prayer Book; but warning those "who had done any wrong to any other," that neither the absolution of the Priest, nor the receiving of the Sacrament, would avail them any thing, unless they made satisfaction and restitution, or at least were in full mind and purpose so to do as soon as they were able; and also requiring "such as shall be satisfied with a general confession, not to be offended with them that do use, to their further satisfying, the auricular and secret confes-

<sup>1</sup> Rom. iii. 20.



sion to the Priests; nor those also which think needful or convenient, for the quietness of their own consciences, particularly to open their sins to the Priest, to be offended with them that are satisfied with their humble confession to God, and the general confession of the Church; but in all things to follow and keep the rule of charity; and every man to be satisfied with his own conscience, not judging other men's minds or consciences."

The Prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church," in the first Book of Edward, immediately preceded the Prayer of Consecration. Towards the conclusion it contained these words: "and here we do give thee most high praise, and most hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy saints, from the beginning of the world; and chiefly in the glorious and most blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord and God; and in the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, whose examples, O Lord, and steadfastness in thy faith, and keeping thy commandments, grant us to follow. We commend unto thy mercy, O Lord, all other thy servants, which are departed hence from us with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace; grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy and everlasting peace." The whole of this was omitted, and in the short preface before the Prayer, the words, "militant here on earth," were added. It may be remarked, by the way, that in the mention of the saints there is no reference to their intercession, nor any expressions of reliance upon their merits: and that in the Prayer for the departed, "who rest in the sleep of peace," there is nothing that gives

the slightest support or countenance to the Romish doctrine of purgatory.

Several transpositions and alterations were made in the Exhortations, and other parts of the service, which it is not necessary here to specify.<sup>1</sup> In the second Exhortation, when the Curate shall see the people negligent to come to the Holy Communion, the Commissioners, at the review of the Liturgy, warned the people not to add any more to the unkindness of refusing this holy banquet, "which thing," they continue, "ye shall do, if ye stand by as gazers and lookers on them that do communicate, and be no partakers of the same yourselves."

14 The Rubric, which required water to be mixed with the wine, was struck out; and instead of unleavened bread, to take away all occasion of dissension and superstition, it was declared sufficient, that "the bread be such as is usual to be eaten, but the best and purest wheat bread that conveniently may be gotten." From a persuasion that our Saviour instituted his supper at the Paschal Festival at which festival the Jews were commanded by Moses to eat unleavened bread, and commonly, though without such command, drank wine mixed with water; these have been supposed to be the elements which Christ consecrated, and made the Sacrament of His body and blood, and have therefore been frequently used at the celebration of the Eucharist. But the Church has not held that they were commanded by Christ, as the words of institution mention only bread, in general; and the cup, in which was the fruit of the vine, in general;

<sup>1</sup> This is the less necessary, since the publication of Dr. Cardwell's very valuable comparison of the two Prayer Books.

without mentioning the circumstance of the bread being unleavened, or the wine mixed with water.<sup>2</sup>

In the Prayer of Consecration, the words "with thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless" (making the sign of the cross) "and sanctify" (making the same sign) "these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly-beloved Son Jesus Christ," were changed into a prayer, that "we, receiving the creatures of bread and wine, according to our Saviour's institution, may be made partakers of his most blessed body and blood:" and the signing over the elements the sign of the cross was left out.<sup>3</sup>

At the distribution of the bread, which was now directed to be delivered to the people in their hands,<sup>4</sup> instead of "the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto eternal life," which was the form in the first Liturgy, was substituted this clause, "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thine heart by faith with thanksgiving." The like change was made in the words at the delivery of the cup.<sup>5</sup> The Oblation Prayer,<sup>6</sup> and the Lord's Prayer (which then was prefaced by the words, "As our Saviour Christ

<sup>2</sup> Ridley's Life of Ridley. See, in his learned note (p. 337), his reasons for thinking that the Lord's Supper was instituted, not at the Paschal Festival, but on the evening before.

<sup>3</sup> Ridley's Life of Ridley, L'Estrange, and Cardwell.

<sup>4</sup> In the Church of Rome it is put by the Priest into the mouth of the communicant: this custom had been continued by the Rubric in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI.

<sup>5</sup> The two clauses were united together (as we now use them) in the first year of Queen Elizabeth.

<sup>6</sup> In which occur the words, "we offer unto thee ourselves, our souls and bodies," &c. &c.

hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say),” which, in the first Book of Edward VI., were inserted before the Confession and Absolution, were removed into the Post Communion. The Sentences (twenty-two verses from the New Testament of a highly practical character),—“to be said or sung every day one” in the Post Communion,—were omitted, and the method and order of the whole Office was brought to much the same state in which it now stands.<sup>1</sup>

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## CHAPTER III.

### THE PRAYER BOOK UNDER QUEEN MARY.—TROUBLES AT FRANKFORT.

MARY succeeded to the Crown in July 1553. In the month of October in that year an Act of Parliament<sup>2</sup> was passed for the purpose of suppressing King Edward's Liturgy, and restoring that in use in the time of King Henry the Eighth. The Preamble sets forth, “That forasmuch as by divers and several Acts, as well the Divine Service and good administration of the Sacraments, and divers other matters of religion, (which we and our forefathers found in the Church of England, to us left by the authority of the Catholic Church,) be partly altered, and in some part taken from, and in place thereof, new things ima-

<sup>1</sup> Ridley's Life of Ridley, pp. 336—338.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Mar. s. 2. c. 2.

gined and set forth by the said Act, such as a few of singularity have devised: whereof hath ensued amongst us, in very small time, numbers of divers and strange opinions, and diversities of sects, and thereby grown great unquietness and much discord, to the great disturbance of the commonwealth of this realm," &c. The Act then goes on to repeal the Statutes in the late reign, for giving the Communion in both kinds; for establishing the first and second Liturgy; for confirming the new Ordinal; and for setting aside certain parts and portions formerly observed. It is further enacted, That all such Divine Services and administration of the Sacraments, which were most commonly used in England, in the last year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, shall be revived and practised after the twentieth of December next following: after which term, the officiating in any other Service is forbidden. And lastly, it is provided, that all persons of the Clergy shall be at liberty, in the meantime, to use either the old or the new Service.

The enforcing of this Act, and the dread of the persecution which they saw impending, induced many of the learned and pious men, who had taken a prominent part in promoting the Reformation, to quit the land of their birth, and to seek for safety in foreign countries, particularly in Germany and Switzerland. The largest number of refugees appears to have settled at Frankfort. They arrived in this city in the latter end of June 1555: and on the 14th of July, by the special favour and mediation of Glauberg, one of the chief senators of that state, had a church granted to them; yet so, as they were to hold the same in "coparcenie" with the French Protestants, *they* one day, and the English

another; and on Sunday alternately to choose their hours, as they could best agree among themselves. The church was also granted them with this proviso, that they should not dissent from the French, in doctrine or ceremony, lest thereby they should minister occasion of offence. On the 29th of the same month, our English, with great joy, entered their new church, and had two Sermons preached, to their singular comfort.

As it is to the unfortunate dissensions which arose among the exiles in Frankfort that much of the subsequent hostility to the Prayer Book is to be traced, a short account of those dissensions will not be inexpedient.

Out of conformity, then, to the French Protestants, the English exiles abrogated many things formerly used by them in the Church of England. They concluded that the answering aloud after the Minister should not be used; and that the surplice, the Litany, and other ceremonies in the Service and Sacraments, should be omitted, both as superfluous and superstitious. In place of the English Confession, they used another, judged by them of more effect, and framed according to the state and time. The congregation then sang, to a plain tune, one of the Psalms of the version of Sternhold and Hopkins. That done, the Minister prayed for the assistance of God's Spirit, and so proceeded to the Sermon. After Sermon, a general Prayer for all States, and particularly for England, was devised, which was ended with the Lord's Prayer. Then followed a rehearsal of the Articles of Belief, another Psalm, and then the Minister pronounced the Blessing, after which the people departed.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's Church History.

By framing their Confession according to the state and time, was meant, probably, that it was made more particularly, not only for sinners, but for exiles, acknowledging their present banishment as being justly inflicted upon them for their offences. The prayer devised after the Sermon seems not to have been an extemporary prayer then conceived by the Minister, but a set form agreed upon by the congregation. The account of the Service here given is to be understood as referring to those instances only in which it differed from the English Liturgy, which is the reason why no mention is made of reading the Psalms and Lessons.<sup>2</sup>

Thus settled in their church, their next care was to write letters, dated August 1st, to all the English congregations at Strasburg, Zurich, Wesel, Embden, &c., to invite them, with all convenient speed, to come to Frankfort. With this invitation the other exiles were little disposed to comply. Those at Zurich particularly, who were most of them men of distinguished learning,<sup>3</sup> pleaded in their excuse that they were peaceably settled, and courteously used where they were, and that to go away before they had the least injury offered to them was to offer an injury to those who so long and lovingly entertained them. The main point, however, was, that the exiles of Zurich were resolved not to recede from the Liturgy used in England in the time of Edward the Sixth; and except those of Frankfort would give them assurance, that, coming thither, they should have the full and free use thereof, they utterly refused any communion with their congregation.

<sup>2</sup> Fuller.

<sup>3</sup> Fuller, book viii. p. 26.

About this time, John Knox, who was afterwards the vehement and sturdy leader of the Reformation in Scotland, came from Geneva, and was chosen by the congregation of Frankfort for their constant Minister. Nearly at the same period arrived Grindal, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and Chambers, deputed by the congregation at Strasburg. They proposed that they should have the substance and effect of the Common Prayer Book, though such ceremonies and things which the country could not bear, might well be omitted. Knox and Whittingham asked them what they meant by the substance of the Book; and the Strasburg deputies not being prepared to state precisely the extent of their proposal, it was for the present dropped.<sup>1</sup>

It gave occasion, however, to Knox and others in Frankfort to draw up in Latin a description of the Liturgy as used in England under King Edward, and to submit it to the judgment of Calvin, who, with many of the Reformers, both English and foreign, had acquired an almost Papal supremacy. Calvin answered, that in "the Liturgy of the Church of England were many weaknesses,"<sup>2</sup> which, seeing that there was no manifest impiety in them, might for a season be borne with; but that it behoved the learned, grave, and godly Ministers of Christ to set forth something more pure and free from imperfection." This censure pronounced by Calvin produced a powerful effect upon the congregation at Frankfort. Some, who formerly partly approved, did now dislike; and more, who formerly did dislike, did now detest, the English Liturgy.

<sup>1</sup> Fuller.

<sup>2</sup> Ineptiæ.



In this position stood matters at Frankfort, when Dr. Richard Cox, with some of his friends from England, arrived there. Cox was a man of high spirit, deep learning, unblameable life, and of great credit among his countrymen: he had been tutor to Edward VI. He, with others, coming into the congregation (March 13), discomposed the order of their service, by answering aloud after the Minister. And on the Sunday following, one of his friends, without the consent and knowledge of the congregation, got up into the pulpit, and there read the Litany. Knox was highly offended, and in the afternoon took occasion, in his sermon, sharply to reprove the authors of this disorder; declaring that many things in the Prayer Book were superstitious, impure, and imperfect, and that he would never consent that they should be received into the congregation. Cox, however, being supported by refugees newly arrived from England, Knox called in to his support the authority of the Senate of Frankfort; and Glauberg (who at first procured for them the use of the church) publicly professed, that if the reformed order of the congregation of Frankfort were not therein observed, as he had opened the church-door unto them, so he would shut it again. Upon this the opposite party had recourse to an expedient unworthy both of them and of the cause which they advocated. They represented to the civil authorities of the city, that Knox had some years before published a book,<sup>3</sup> in which he said that the Emperor was no less an enemy to Christ than was Nero. "Such," observes the honest historian<sup>4</sup> from whom this account is taken, "such too often is the

<sup>3</sup> An Admonition to Christians.

<sup>4</sup> Fuller.

badness of good people, that, in the heat of passion, they account any play to be fair play which tends to the overturning of those with whom they contend." Hereupon the State of Frankfort (as an imperial town, highly concerned to be tender of the Emperor's honour) ordered Knox to depart from the city; who accordingly, on the 25th of March, to the great grief of his friends and followers, left the congregation.

A triumph achieved by such means cannot have been unattended by some painful misgivings. At all events, the hostility to the Liturgy, which had previously been felt and avowed by Knox and his adherents, became more bitter and more deeply rooted, and the effects of it were felt by the Church of England during the whole of the ensuing century. Of these adherents of Knox, Fox the Martyrologist, and a few more, retired, shortly afterwards, to Basle: the greater number settled themselves at Geneva, where they were all most courteously entertained.<sup>1</sup>

It was here that, in the year 1557, some of the refugees published an English New Testament, the first in our language which contained the distinction of verses by numerical figures, after the manner of the Greek Testament, which had been published in Paris, by Robert Stephens, in 1551. In 1560, the whole Bible, in quarto, was printed at Geneva, by Rowland Harle; some of the refugees from England continuing in that city for this purpose. The chief and most learned of the translators were Bishop Coverdale, Gilby, and Whittingham, assisted by a few others, all zealous Calvinists, both in doctrine and discipline. In the division of the verses

<sup>1</sup> Fuller.

they followed the Hebrew example, and added the number to each verse. They also introduced brief annotations, for ascertaining the text and explaining obscure words; <sup>2</sup>—annotations, as might be expected, not untinged with the peculiar notions of the translators.

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## CHAPTER IV.

THE PRAYER BOOK OF QUEEN ELIZABETH—ACT OF SUPREMACY—  
HIGH COMMISSION COURT—PUBLIC DEPUTATION IN WEST-  
MINSTER ABBEY—THE ENGLISH PRAYER BOOK RESTORED—  
SUNDAY PROPER LESSONS—BISHOP'S BIBLE.

QUEEN Mary died the 7<sup>th</sup> of November, 1558. Elizabeth was then at Hatfield; when, having received intelligence of her sister's death, and of her being proclaimed Queen, she went from that place to London. On the 19<sup>th</sup>, at Highgate, all the Bishops met her. She received them courteously, allowing them to kiss her hand, all except Bonner, whom she considered as being defiled with so much blood, that she could not think it fit to bestow any mark of her favour on him. She passed that night at the Duke of Norfolk's residence in the Charter House, while preparation was made for her reception in the Tower. Upon her entering the Tower, the next day, or soon after, she kneeled down, and offered up thanks to God for that great change in her condition; that whereas she had been formerly a prisoner in that place, every hour in fear of her life, she now entered it as Queen of England.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Hartwell Horne, vol. ii.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet and Heylin.

Elizabeth was now about the age of twenty-five, and had been so well disciplined in the excellent school of adversity, as to have become mistress of a wisdom and discretion above her years. Of this she gave an early proof in the choice of her Ministers: for she made of her Privy Council, Heath, Archbishop of York, a man of singular prudence and a well-tempered judgment, together with twelve other Romanists, who had held the same station and dignity under Queen Mary. To these she added eight Protestants, among whom were Cecil, and Sir Nicholas Bacon. To Bacon she committed the custody of the Great Seal,<sup>1</sup> Heath still retaining the title of Lord Chancellor. On these, as well as on all others whom she afterwards admitted into the administration of state affairs, she bestowed her favours with so much caution and so little distinction, as to prevent either party from gaining the ascendancy over her, whereby she remained mistress of her own self, and preserved entire both their affections and her own authority.<sup>2</sup>

Elizabeth's first and great concern, after her settlement on the throne, was to restore the Reformed Religion: and though she made but very few privy to the design, yet so well was she persuaded of its purity and orthodoxy, and had built upon the principles of reason and education such a high opinion of its primitive truth and simplicity, that she was fully resolved to countenance and support it.<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth had been bred up from her infancy with a hatred of the Papacy, and a love to the Reformation; but yet, as her first impressions in her father's reign were in favour of such old rites as he had still retained, so in her own

<sup>1</sup> Heylin.<sup>2</sup> Camden.<sup>3</sup> Camden.

nature she loved state, and some magnificence in religion, as in every thing else. She thought that in her brother's reign they had stripped it too much of external ornaments, and had made their doctrine too narrow in some points. She intended, therefore, to have such things explained in more general terms, that so all parties might be comprehended by them. She was inclined to keep up images in churches; and to have the manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament left in some general words, that those who believed the corporeal presence might not be driven away from the Church by too strict an explanation of it. Nor did she like the title of Supreme Head of the Church; she thought it imported too great a power, and came too near that authority which belonged to Christ alone.<sup>4</sup>

The Queen's position, however, with reference both to the continental powers, to Scotland, and to her own subjects, required that she should proceed with great prudence and discretion. Many, who were imprisoned for the sake of religion, she restored to liberty at her first coming to the crown; but when Rainsford, a gentleman of the court, made suit to her in behalf of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, who had long been imprisoned in a Latin translation, that they also might be restored to liberty, and walk abroad, as formerly, in the English tongue, she presently answered, "that she should first endeavour to know the minds of the prisoners, who perhaps desired no such liberty as was demanded."<sup>5</sup>

It was difficult to keep within any reasonable bounds the intemperate zeal of both religious

<sup>4</sup> Burnet, vol. ii. p. 376.

<sup>5</sup> Heylin.

parties, which threatened to throw the whole kingdom into confusion. At Dover, at Hailsham, in Bow Church<sup>1</sup> in London, and in other places, some Protestant zealots engaged early and eagerly in the work of pulling down images, demolishing altars, and defacing and injuring various parts of the churches. At the same time several of the zealous ministers who had been silent during the reign of Mary, and many of those who now returned from exile, upon resuming their pulpits, inveighed bitterly against the superstitions and corruptions of the Church of Rome. The Romanist preachers, on the other hand, as was to be expected, were not sparing of invectives against their assailants, whom they accused of heresy, schism, and innovations in the worship of God.

For the suppressing of these disorders and dissensions, the Queen issued two Proclamations, nearly at the same time. By one of these it was commanded, "That no man, of what persuasion soever in point of religion, should be suffered from thenceforth to preach in public, but only such as should be licensed by her authority; and that all such as were so licensed and appointed should forbear preaching upon any point which was matter of controversy, and might conduce rather to exasperate than to calm men's passions." By the other Proclamation, which was published on the thirtieth of December, it was enjoined, "That no man, of what quality or degree soever, should presume to alter any thing in the state of religion, or innovate in any of the rights and ceremonies thereunto belonging; but that all such rites and ceremonies should be observed in all parish churches of

<sup>1</sup> Strype's Annals, p. 49.

the kingdom, as were then used and retained in her Majesty's chapel, until some further order should be taken in it." Only it was permitted, and indeed required, that the Litany, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, should be said in the English tongue, and that the Epistle and the Gospel, at the time of the High Mass, should be read in English; which was accordingly done in all the churches of London on the next Sunday after, being New-year's day, and, by degrees, in all the other churches of the kingdom also. Further than this she thought it not prudent to proceed at present. She, however, commanded the bishop or minister who officiated in the Chapel-Royal not to make any elevation of the Sacrament, the better to prevent that adoration which was given to it, and which she could not suffer to be done in her sight without a most apparent wrong to her judgment and conscience. This being soon generally known, and all other churches being ordered to conform themselves to the example of the Chapel-Royal, the elevation was forborne in most other places, to the great dissatisfaction of the Romanists.<sup>2</sup> About the same time, making none acquainted with her intentions, excepting the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Bedford, Sir John Gray, and Sir William Cecil, she committed the reviewing of the Liturgy, established at the death of Edward the Sixth, to eight of the most learned and able men of the kingdom. These were, Bill the Queen's Almoner, and afterwards Dean of Westminster, Parker, Grindal, Cox, Pilkington, May, Whitehead, and Sir Thomas

<sup>2</sup> Heylin's Hist. Ref. vol. ii. p. 145.

Smith, at whose house in Cannon Row<sup>1</sup> the Commissioners met to prosecute their work, being supplied with food and fuel at the public expense. The four last-named divines had been exiles during the Marian persecution. Cox and May had been employed in preparing the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. Parker and Grindal became afterwards in succession Archbishops of Canterbury. Whitehead, "a grave and elderly divine, highly esteemed by Cranmer,"<sup>2</sup> had formerly been Chaplain to Anne Bullen.<sup>3</sup> Other learned men were afterwards to be called in to give their assistance and assent.<sup>4</sup>

The funeral of Queen Mary was solemnized on the thirteenth of December, 1558, at the Abbey of Westminster, and the obsequies of the Emperor Charles V. were performed at the same place about ten days after. Having paid this tribute of respect to her immediate predecessor, and to that mighty Sovereign of many thrones, who had voluntarily quitted them all for the retirement of the cloister, Elizabeth began to prepare for her own coronation. She passed from Westminster to the Tower on the twelfth of January, attended by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and other citizens, in their barges, with the banners and escutcheons of the several companies. On the thirteenth she prepared for a triumphant passage through London to her Palace at Westminster. Before she took her seat in her carriage, she is said to have lifted up her eyes to heaven, and to have offered a prayer to the follow-

<sup>1</sup> Strype's Life of Sir T. Smith, p. 73. Smith is, by Fuller, styled "Principal Secretary of Estate."

<sup>2</sup> Life of Sir T. Smith.

<sup>3</sup> Fuller, p. 386.

<sup>4</sup> Life of Sir T. Smith.



ing purport: "O Lord Almighty and everliving God, I give Thee most hearty thanks that Thou hast been so merciful unto me as to spare me to see this joyful day. And I acknowledge that Thou hast dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me as Thou didst with Thy true and faithful servant Daniel the prophet, whom Thou deliveredst out of the den from the cruelty of the raging and greedy lions; even so was I overwhelmed, and only by Thee delivered. To Thee only be thanks, honour, and praise for ever. Amen." In this thanksgiving, she alluded to her imprisonment, first in the Tower of London, and afterwards in the custody of Mr. Henry Bedingfield, and the great harshness and severity with which, in both places, she had been treated. Indeed she had been in no little danger of being brought to the scaffold for the sake of religion,—a danger from which she appears to have been rescued by the kind, but politic, intercession of King Philip, the husband of Mary.<sup>5</sup> On her progress through the city she was everywhere received with joyful shouts and acclamations of "God save the Queen!" which she returned with such a modest affability, and so good a grace, that it drew tears of joy from the eyes of some, and prayers and thanksgivings from the hearts of all. But nothing more endeared her to them than the accepting of an English Bible, richly gilt, which was let down from one of the pageants, by a child representing Truth. Upon receiving the book, she first kissed it, and then laid it in her bosom, giving the City greater thanks for that excellent gift than for all the rest, which plenteously had been that day bestowed upon her, and promised to be diligent

<sup>5</sup> Heylin, p. 108.

in reading it. The next morning (January fourteenth) the Queen was crowned in Westminster Abbey, according to the order of the Roman Pontifical, by Oglethorp, Bishop of Carlisle, all the other Bishops declining to perform the office.<sup>1</sup>

Parliament was summoned to meet on the 23rd of January, but, on account of the Queen's indisposition, was prorogued till the 25th. It opened with a long speech of Bacon's, the Lord Keeper, in which he "laid before them the distracted state of the nation, both in matters of religion and the other miseries that the wars and late calamities had brought upon them. For religion, the Queen desired that they would consider of it without heat or partial affection, or using any reproachful term of Papist, or Heretic, or Schismatic; and that they would avoid the extremes of idolatry and superstition on the one hand, and contempt and irreligion on the other; and that they would examine matters without sophistical niceties, or too subtle speculations, and endeavour to settle things so as might bring the people to an uniformity and cordial agreement in them."<sup>2</sup>

One of the earliest objects of the attention of Parliament was the Bill for establishing the Queen's supremacy, giving the Queen the title, not of Supreme Head, a title which she herself disapproved of, and which justly gave offence to many, but that of Supreme Governor of the Church. In the third session of Parliament in Queen Mary's time an Act had been passed, declaring that the Regal power was in the Queen's Majesty, as fully as it had been in any of her predecessors. That Act, and the Act of Supremacy now proposed, were

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, Heylin, and Collier.    <sup>2</sup> Burnet, vol. ii. p. 381.

not to be considered as introductory of a new power, which was not in the Crown before, but as declaratory of a power actually existing, which naturally belonged to all Christian Princes, and among others to the Kings and Queens of the realm of England.<sup>3</sup> The Act for restoring the supremacy of the Crown was long and warmly debated. Heath, Archbishop of York, and Scot, Bishop of Chester, spoke against it at considerable length. It was brought up from the Commons on the 27th of February, but appears not to have finally passed the House of Lords, with its additional clauses and provisos, until the 29th of April.

One very important clause of this Act empowered the Queen and her successors to erect the High Commission Court for the exercise of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with powers similar to those which had been given by Henry the Eighth to Cromwell, under the title or designation of Lord Vice-Regent, or Vicar-General.

As it must be acknowledged that the extensive powers of this Court were, in the two succeeding reigns, sometimes exercised harshly and oppressively; and since, being so exercised, they contributed not a little to embitter and exasperate the hostility of the enemies of the Church of England and of the Prayer Book—that hostility, which for a time succeeded in overthrowing and trampling upon both; it becomes expedient to pay some attention to the first establishment of this formidable tribunal. The clause alluded to enables the Queen and her successors to assign, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal, such persons, and for so long time as they shall think fit (provided they

<sup>3</sup> Heylin, p. 108.

are natural-born subjects), for the exercising, under the Crown, all manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Particularly, by this Act, the Commissioners are empowered "to view, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend, all such errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities whatsoever, which by any manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical power, authority, or jurisdiction, can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, repressed, corrected, restrained, or amended," &c. &c. Nothing can be more comprehensive than the terms of this clause. The whole compass of Church discipline seems transferred to the Crown. It is further enacted, "That no person nor persons, who shall be authorized by the Queen, her heirs, and successors, to execute any spiritual jurisdiction, shall have any authority or power to determine or judge any matter or cause to be heresy, but only such as heretofore had been adjudged to be heresy by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or by the first four General Councils,<sup>1</sup> or any of them,"<sup>2</sup> &c.

Previously to the introduction of the Bill for restoring the English Liturgy, it was thought expedient that a public disputation should be held upon certain points, which were most likely to occasion opposition. The disputants were to be four bishops and five other learned men on the part of the Romanists, and nine distinguished divines on that of the Reformers. The advocates for the Romanists were, White, Bishop of Winchester, Bayne, Bishop of Lichfield, Scot, Bishop

<sup>1</sup> 1. Nice in 325. 2. Constantinople, 381. 3. Ephesus, 431. 4. Chalcedon, 451. (Waddington's Hist. of the Church.)

<sup>2</sup> Collier, vol. ii. p. 421. There were other provisions in the Act, which it is not thought necessary to give at length.

of Chester, Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, Cole, Dean of St. Paul's, and Langdale, Archdeacon of Lewes. Those for the Reformation were Scory, late Bishop of Chichester, Cox, late Dean of Westminster, Horne, late Dean of Durham, Aylmer, late Archdeacon of Stow, Whitehead, Grindal, Guest, and Jewel.<sup>3</sup>

The disputation was to begin on the 30th of March, and was to take place in Westminster Abbey, in the presence of as many of the Lords of the Council, and of the Members of both Houses of Parliament, as were desirous, in this manner, to gain information respecting the state of the question to be discussed. The disputation, for that reason, was to be held in the English language, and to be managed by a mutual interchange of writings upon every point; those writings which were given in one day to be reciprocally answered on another, and so on, from day to day, till the whole was concluded. To this arrangement the Bishops gave consent, for themselves, and for the rest of their party. The points to be discussed were these:—

First, “That it is repugnant to the word of God, and the custom of the ancient Church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in common prayer, and in the administration of the Sacraments.”

Secondly, “That every Church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change, ceremonies, and ecclesiastical rites, so the same be done to edification.”

Thirdly, “That it cannot be proved by the word of God that there is in the Mass offered up a sacrifice for the living and the dead.”

<sup>3</sup> Collier, vol. ii. p. 414.

The day being come, and the place prepared for so large an audience, the Lord Keeper Bacon took the chair as moderator; not for the purpose of determining any thing in the points discussed, but solely to preserve order, and to take care that the disputation should be managed in the form agreed upon. Contrary to expectation, the Bishops and their party brought nothing in writing to be publicly read, and then delivered to their opponents, but contended for a *vivâ voce* discussion, appointing Cole, Dean of St. Paul's, to be their spokesman.<sup>1</sup> Cole accordingly made a long discourse in defence of the Latin Service, the greatest part of which he read from a book or paper, a copy of which he refused to give to the advocates of the Reformation. The arguments which he used certainly appear singularly weak. When this was done, the Lord Keeper turned to those of the other side, and desired them to read their paper. Horne, late Dean of Durham, was appointed to do this. He began with a short prayer to God to enlighten their minds, and with a protestation that they were resolved to follow the truth according to the word of God. He then read his paper, in which he said, that "they founded their assertion on St. Paul's words, wherein, in the 14th chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians, he had expressly treated of the subject, and spoke in it, not only of preaching, but of praying with the understanding, and said that the unlearned were to say Amen at the giving of thanks. From that chapter they argued that St. Paul commanded all things should be done to edification,

<sup>1</sup> Heylin's History of the Reformation. See also Collier and Burnet.

which could not be by an unknown language. St. Paul also charged them that nothing should be said that had an uncertain sound; and that as the sound of the trumpet must be distinct, so the people must understand what is said, that so they might say Amen at the giving of thanks. St. Paul also required those that spoke in a strange language, and could not get one to interpret, to hold their peace, since it was an absurd thing for one to be as the speaker of a foreign language to others in the worship of God. They added, that these things were so strictly commanded by St. Paul, that it is plain they are not indifferent, or within the power of the Church. In the Old Testament the Jews had their worship in their own language, and the new dispensation being more spiritual than the old, it was absurd that the worship of God should be less understood by themselves than it had been by the Jews. The chief end of worship is, according to David, that we may show forth God's praises; which cannot be done if it is in a strange tongue,<sup>2</sup> &c. &c. The most barbarous nations perform their worship in a known tongue, which shows it to be a law of nature. It is plain, from Justin Martyr's Apology, that the worship in his time was in a known tongue; and a long citation was quoted from St. Basil, for the singing of Psalms, duly weighing the words with much attention and devotion; which, he says, was practised in all nations. They concluded by expressing their wonder how such an abuse could at first creep in, and should still be so stiffly maintained; and why those who would be thought the guides and pastors of the Church

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, vol. ii. pp. 390, 391.

were so unwilling to return to the rule of St. Paul and the practice of the primitive times. When he had concluded, the assembly expressed their approbation of his arguments by a shout of applause; and the paper, signed by himself and all his colleagues, was given to the Lord Keeper, to be delivered to the other side, as he should think fit. But he kept it until the other side should bring in theirs.<sup>1</sup> The Romanists now alleged that they had more to offer upon the first question. This was contradicting their former answer; for when Cole had ended his first discourse, the Privy Council asking him if he had any thing to say farther upon that head, they answered, No. However, to take off all pretences of complaint, the Conference was adjourned till the Monday following, and the Romanists were ordered to bring in their paper relating to the second proposition, with a promise that what they had farther proposed upon the first question should likewise be heard. To this both parties agreed. But when the day came the Romanists insisting upon reading the supplemental paper on the first question, and refusing to abide by the terms of the agreement, the Conference, after some dissension, broke up.<sup>2</sup> Watson, Bishop of Winchester, and White, of Lincoln, went so far as to threaten the Queen with excommunication. The Romanists contended that they were straitened in time; that it was beneath them to go through a disputation of this kind, where Bacon, a mere layman, was to sit as a Judge; and finally, that the points to be argued had been determined already by the Catholic Church, and therefore were not to

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, vol. ii. p. 391.

<sup>2</sup> Collier, vol. ii. p. 417, from the Paper Office.



be called in question without leave from the Pope.<sup>3</sup> It was by this last consideration, probably, that they were chiefly influenced.<sup>4</sup>

To the Commissioners who, towards the conclusion of the preceding year, had been appointed to review King Edward's Liturgy, Cecil had added Guest, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, a man of great learning, and of sound judgment; directing him carefully to compare King Edward's two books together, and from them both to frame a book for the use of the Church of England, correcting and altering according to his judgment and the ancient Liturgies. The alterations which were made by these prudent and pious men were not many. With regard to the vestments, it was now ordered that the Minister, "at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of parliament in the second year of King Edward the Sixth." In the Litany, the petition for deliverance "from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities," was left out: and the Prayer that the Queen might be "strengthened in the true worshipping of God, in righteousness, and true holiness of life," was added.

At the end of the Litany, the Prayer for the King or Queen, and that for the Clergy, were added, as was the Collect<sup>5</sup> beginning, "O God, whose nature and property is ever to have mercy," &c. The collect last mentioned occurs in the Sacramentary of Gregory, and in the most ancient monuments of the English offices.<sup>6</sup>

In the first Liturgy of King Edward, the Priest

<sup>3</sup> Heylin, pp. 111, 112: and Collier.

<sup>5</sup> Wheatly and Shepherd.

<sup>4</sup> Camden.

<sup>6</sup> Palmer.

upon administering the Sacrament to each communicant, was directed to say, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life;" and words to a similar purport upon administering the cup. This, being thought by some of our Reformers to give some countenance to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, was omitted in Edward's second Prayer Book: and the words, "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving," were substituted. The revisers of the Prayer Book under Elizabeth joined both forms together, lest, under colour of rejecting a carnal, they might be thought also to deny such a real presence, as was defended in the writings of the ancient Fathers.<sup>1</sup> They struck out also the Rubric at the end of the Communion Service, which said, that the direction that the communicants should receive the elements kneeling, was meant, "for the humble and grateful acknowledging of the benefits of Christ given to the worthy receiver," &c.; and was not meant to imply, "that any adoration is done or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread and wine then bodily received, or unto any real and spiritual presence then being of Christ's natural flesh and blood."<sup>2</sup>

A Bill for restoring the English Prayer Book, with these slight alterations, was read the first time in the House of Commons on the 18th of April, and passed on the 20th. On the 25th it was brought up to the House of Lords. Fecken-

<sup>1</sup> Heylin, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> This Rubric was restored, nearly in the same words, at the last Review.

ham,<sup>3</sup> the Abbot of Westminster, and Scot, Bishop of Chester, spoke against it at considerable length. On the 28th, however, it passed, under the title of "An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and Administration of the Sacraments;" and was to come into operation on the day of St. John the Baptist (June 24) then ensuing.

This restoration of the Prayer Book naturally gave great offence to the zealous advocates of the Church of Rome both abroad and at home, and the Prayer Book itself was assailed from many quarters. Bishop Pilkington, who had been an exile for religion during the Marian persecution, replied to these assailants, that "our Service hath nothing in it but what is written in God's book, the Holy Bible (where no lie can be found), saving Te Deum, and a few collects and prayers; which although they be not contained in the Scriptures, yet, differing in words, they agree in sense and meaning with the Articles of the Faith, and the whole body of the Scriptures."<sup>4</sup> The more moderate of the Romanist laity, however, found the Prayer Book so free from any thing calculated to give them just ground of offence, that, for the first ten years of Elizabeth, they came frequently to church,<sup>5</sup> and to the Lord's Supper.<sup>6</sup>

The case of the Romanist Bishops, who, by the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, were deprived of their preferment in the Church, was not neglected abroad. The Queen was solicited by the

<sup>3</sup> "Queen Mary preferred him (Feckenham) from being Dean of St. Paul's to be Abbot of Westminster, which church she erected and endowed for Benedictine Monks." Fuller, book ix. p. 79. This preferment seems to have given him a seat in the House of Lords.

<sup>4</sup> Strype's Annals, p. 87. <sup>5</sup> Collier, vol. ii. p. 436. <sup>6</sup> Burnet.

Emperor, and by other Roman Catholic Princes, to deal favourably with them, and to allow the Papists some churches in cities and great towns. To this the Queen replied, "That notwithstanding those Bishops disobeyed the laws, and disturbed the quiet of the kingdom; though they refused compliance with that doctrine, which, in the reigns of her father and brother, they had publicly recommended and maintained; notwithstanding this inconsistency and misbehaviour, yet, in regard to those Princes, she was willing to treat them gently, though this could not be done without disgusting the rest of her subjects. But to grant them churches to officiate in their worship, and keep up a distinct communion, were things which the public interest, her own honour and conscience, could not allow. Neither was there any reason for such an indulgence: for there was no new faith propagated in England: no religion set up, but that which was commanded by our Saviour, practised by the primitive Church, and unanimously approved by the Fathers of the best antiquity." In fact, both from inclination and from policy, Elizabeth, at the beginning of her reign, was well disposed to conciliate the Romanists: and it must be acknowledged that Pius IV., who, in August 1559, succeeded Paul IV. in the Papacy, was not deficient in his endeavours to win back the Queen and country to allegiance to the Church of Rome.

The See of Canterbury had been vacant since the death of Cardinal Pole, who died almost on the same day with Queen Mary. Parker, a man of distinguished learning,<sup>1</sup> was selected by Elizabeth for this high office. Parker had, in the reign of

<sup>1</sup> "By far the most prudent churchman of the time."—Hallam.

Queen Mary, been deprived of all his church preferment on account of his marriage, and in "those years lurked secretly within a house of one of his friends, leading a poor life, without any man's aid or succour; and yet so well contented with his lot, that in that pleasant rest and leisure for his studies he would never, in respect of himself, have desired any other kind of life, the extreme fear of danger only excepted."<sup>2</sup> He says himself, "After my deprivation, I lived so joyful before God in my conscience, and so neither ashamed nor dejected, that the most sweet leisure for study to which the good providence of God recalled me, created me much greater and more solid pleasures, than that former busy and dangerous kind of living ever pleased me. What will hereafter happen to me, I know not; but to God, who takes care of all, and who will one day reveal the hidden things of men's hearts, I commend myself wholly, and my godly and most chaste wife, and my two most dear little sons. And I beseech the same most great and good God, that we may for the time to come with unshaken minds bear the reproach of Christ, that we may always remember that we have here no abiding city, but may seek one to come, by the grace and mercy of my Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>3</sup> On one occasion during his concealment strict search was made for him, which he having some notice of, escaped in the night in great danger, and was so severely hurt by a fall from his horse, that he never recovered it. Upon the first intimation of the Queen's intention to place him in the high and responsible situation of Archbishop of Canterbury, he manifested deep and unfeigned reluctance to accept it. In answer

<sup>2</sup> Strype's Life of Parker, p. 31. <sup>3</sup> Strype's Life of Parker.

to two successive summonses from the Lord Keeper Bacon, who did not, as yet, mention precisely the dignity intended for him, and again, in reply to a third, more peremptory, from Cecil, the secretary, in the Queen's name, he excused himself from coming to London on the plea of bad health. A fourth letter, from the Lord Keeper, in January, brought him to court, but it was not till the 17th of May that Bacon intimated to him that it was determined by the Council, that the Archbishopric should be conferred upon him. Upon this, Parker addressed an earnest letter to the Queen herself, humbly imploring her "to discharge him of that so high and chargeable an office," on account of "his great unworthiness," his disability, his poverty, and also his infirmity of body.<sup>1</sup> "But nothing would do," says his biographer; "and Dr. Parker must be the man pitched upon, for his admirable qualities and rare accomplishments, to fill the See of Canterbury."

Accordingly, on the 17th of December, 1559, Parker was, with much form and ceremony, consecrated in Lambeth Chapel by the four Bishops, Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins, according to the ordinal of King Edward the Sixth, then newly printed for that purpose<sup>2</sup>; only the ceremony of putting the staff in his hand was left out in this reign. The confirmation of his election had taken place on the 9th, at the Church of St. Mary-le-Bow (de Arcibus, the Court of Arches), in Cheapside, with exact attention to all the minute forms prescribed by law.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Strype, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Strype, Heylin, and Burnet.

<sup>3</sup> It is not improbable that the various officers, ecclesiastical and civil, employed in the ceremony, may have dined together afterwards at the Nag's Head close by; which may have given occasion to the palpably absurd and most improbable

Parker, as has already been mentioned, was one of the Commissioners appointed at the very beginning of Elizabeth's reign to revise the Book of Common Prayer. In 1560, not long after his consecration as Archbishop, he, with the rest of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, observed that some chapters appointed to be read in the ordinary course of the Common Prayer were likely to be of little benefit to common hearers, and thought that they might well be changed for others tending more to edification. He accordingly procured letters under the Great Seal, dated January 22, to the Commissioners, and particularly to himself, with Grindal, Bishop of London, Dr. Bill, and Dr. Haddon, authorising them, among other things, "to peruse the order of the Lessons throughout the whole year, and to cause new Calendars to be printed." Before the reformation of the Lessons, it was recommended to the discretion of the officiating ministers to change the chapters for some others more proper. For so it is in the Admonition to Ecclesiastical Ministers set before the second Book of Homilies.<sup>4</sup> "And when it may so chance, some one or other chapter of the Old

bable fiction of the Nag's Head consecration, invented forty years afterwards.—Strype's Life of Parker.

<sup>4</sup> The Second Book of Homilies, to which the admonition above mentioned was prefixed, had been prepared, or nearly so, before the death of Edward the Sixth, and is supposed to have been written by Jewel. (Hey's Lectures, vol. iv. p. 460.) They were revised and finished by Parker, and the other Bishops (Jewel was now Bishop of Salisbury), during the convocation in 1562-3. The Preface, which was afterwards slightly altered, was written by Cox, Bishop of Ely. (Strype's Annals, chap. 30). It was submitted to Elizabeth for her approval; and, in 1563, Parker earnestly solicited her allowance that he might leave a copy in each parish during his visitation. Two editions of the Homilies were printed in this year. (Strype's Life of Parker, p. 128.)

Testament to fall in order to be read upon the Sundays or Holydays, which were better to be changed with some other of the New Testament of more edification, it shall be well done to spend your time to consider well of such chapters beforehand, whereby your prudence and diligence in your office may appear. So that your people may have cause to glorify God for you, and be the readier to embrace your labour, to your greater commendation, to the discharge of your consciences and their own." But when the above-mentioned Commissioners had altered the Lessons, and made a new Calendar, and Tables denoting the chapters to be read, this liberty was no longer indulged to every private minister.<sup>1</sup>

The reformation that was made in the Lessons was this: "That whereas in King Edward's first Book there were no Proper Lessons, for the Holydays or Sundays of the year, but the chapters of the Old and New Testament were read on in course without any interruption; and in King Edward's second Book there were Proper Lessons for some few Holydays only, and none for the Sundays: now there was a Table of Proper Lessons to be read for the First Lesson, both at Morning and Evening Prayer on the Sundays throughout the year; and for some also the Second Lesson. There is another Table for Proper Lessons on Holydays, beginning with St. Andrew."<sup>2</sup>

At the end of the Common Prayer Book now

<sup>1</sup> Strype's Life of Parker, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> In the Order how the Holy Scriptures is appointed to be read, is this direction: "So oft as the first chapter of St. Matthew is read, either for Lesson or Gospel, ye shall begin the same at 'The Birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise,' &c.; and the third chapter of St. Luke's Gospel shall be read unto 'So that he was supposed to be the Son of Joseph,' " &c.



printed (in 4to.), were added several very good prayers for family use, entitled, "Certain godly prayers to be used for sundry purposes." These were probably inserted by order of the Archbishop; and they were the same that were printed in the former Common Prayer Book under King Edward. In the latter editions they are either shortened or wholly omitted, which perhaps is to be regretted.<sup>3</sup>

The Geneva Bible had been printed in the town the name of which it bears, in the year 1560, and was in the act of being prepared for a second edition in 1565, in some degree with the sanction of the Archbishop, and of Grindal, Bishop of London. At the same time they intimated their intention of preparing an improved translation for the use of the Church. In order to carry this intention into effect, Parker allotted to several of the most learned of the Bishops particular portions of the Bible of the former translations, to be by them revised with the exactest scrutiny. It was on this account called the Bishops' Bible. He employed several men critically learned in the Hebrew and Greek languages to peruse the old translation, and to compare it carefully with the original text, and with the Geneva and other versions. Afterwards, himself, with other learned divines in his family, revising the whole, he set forth (apparently in the year 1568) a more correct translation of the Holy Scriptures, of the same size with the former, or a little bigger, and better printed. And so highly pleased was this good Prelate when he saw an end put to this great work, that he seemed to be in the same spirit with old Simeon, using his words,

<sup>3</sup> Strype's Life of Parker, p. 84.

"Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

In order that private families, as well as churches, might be supplied with copies of this translation, it was published in the following year (1569) in a small but fine black letter, in large 8vo. The chapters here are divided into verses, but there is no break in the chapter till the end of it. This, probably, is the first English Bible printed with distinction of verses. Some useful notes are added in the margin.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1572 a new edition of this Bible was published in a large and handsome volume, with various embellishments and illustrations. Prefixed were two Prefaces by Parker himself, the Prologue of Cranmer, and, before the Book of Psalms, the Preface of St. Basil. Useful historical and genealogical tables were added, together with the "Table of Degrees of Kindred and Affinity within which it is unlawful to contract matrimony."

During the remainder of the long reign of Elizabeth there appears to have been no farther change affecting the Public Service of the Church. It continued to be vehemently attacked by the zealous and pious, though ill-judging<sup>2</sup> Puritans on the one hand, and, on the other, by the active and indefatigable partisans of the court of Rome, particularly the Jesuits and the Dominicans, some in their own character, some in the disguise of soldiers, others under that of Puritans. One instance of the latter description may be mentioned. In

<sup>1</sup> Strype's Life of Parker, pp. 272, 273.

<sup>2</sup> "He said those of the separation were good men, but they had narrow souls, who would break the peace of the Church about such inconsiderable matters as the points in difference were."—Spoken by Sir Matthew Hale, after the Restoration.

the year 1567, Faithful Cummins, a Dominican Friar, was much admired and followed by the people for his seeming piety, for his readiness in making long extempore prayers, and for inveighing against the Pope, Pius the Fifth. His real character being suspected, he was taken up and examined before the Privy Council. Having made his escape, he went to Rome. Being questioned by the Pope, Cummins replied, "That his Holiness little thought that he had done him a considerable service, notwithstanding he spoke so much against him." When the Pope asked how, he said, "He had preached against set forms of prayer, and that he called the English Prayer Book, English Mass, and had persuaded several to pray spiritually and extempore, and that this had so much taken with the people, that the Church of England was become as odious to that sort of people whom he instructed as a Mass was to the Church of England; and that this would be a stumbling-block to that Church while it was a Church." Upon this the Pope commended him, and gave him a reward of two thousand ducats.<sup>3</sup>

Among the chief occasions of the hostility of the Puritans were the surplice and other clerical vestments. This unhappy controversy appears to have originated in England with Hooper, Professor of Divinity in Oxford, who, to avoid the penalties denounced by the sanguinary Act of the Six Articles, had fled to Zurich in the latter part of the reign

<sup>3</sup> Strype's Life of Parker, pp. 244, 245, from "Foxes and Firebrands." This book adds, "This produced that Act for preventing Popery and other sects, which enjoined all people from ten years old and upwards, not having a lawful impediment, to repair every Sunday to hear Divine Service, under penalty of forfeiting twelve pence for every default." P. 29.

of Henry the Eighth. From his intimacy with Bullinger, and other members of the Swiss Church, he became strongly prepossessed in favour of their customs; and when, after his return to England in the reign of Edward, he was appointed to the new Bishopric of Gloucester, he refused to wear the Episcopal habit. Cranmer and Ridley for a considerable time endeavoured, without success, to remove his scruples; and the judicious remonstrances of Peter Martyr and Bucer were long addressed to him in vain.<sup>1</sup> A similar controversy sprang up in the reign of Elizabeth, occasioned principally by those pious men, who, during the Marian persecution, fled for refuge to Germany and Switzerland. Two of these exiles, who took a very prominent part in the opposition to the clerical vestments, were Sampson, Dean of Christ Church, and Lawrence Humphrey, President of Magdalen College in the same University, both men of considerable learning, and of sincere and ardent piety. These two divines were, in 1564, appointed to appear at Lambeth, together with four other Ministers in London of the same opinions, that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners might confer with them, in order to understand their reasons for omitting what was enjoined.<sup>2</sup> The conference appears to have been conducted in a fair and amicable manner, but the result of it was not satisfactory. Sampson persisted in his opposition, and was deprived. Humphrey, after some years, complied, and held preferment in the Church. They had both consulted Gualter and Bullinger, two eminent divines of Zurich, upon the question. The answer they received was in

<sup>1</sup> See their very sensible letters in Collier, vol. ii. pp. 292. 293.

<sup>2</sup> Strype's Life of Parker. p. 162.

favour of conformity. These sensible foreigners argued, like Martyr and Bucer, that the peace and unity of the Church ought not to be sacrificed for the sake of circumstantials in religion, things indifferent<sup>3</sup> in themselves. Sampson and Humphrey, however, were not convinced; and these dissensions continued to agitate and disturb the Church nearly the whole of the succeeding century.

Archbishop Parker, who bore so distinguished a part in establishing the Prayer Book at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, died the 17th of May, 1575. "He was of a sedate temper, had no starts of passion, nor treated any person with rough language. He was easy of access, had great penetration in going to the bottom of things, and was very quick in apprehending the tendency of what was proposed. His private life was unexceptionable and exemplary." His benefactions, both during his life and at his death, especially to the University of Cambridge, were most munificent.<sup>4</sup>

Parker, after an interval of more than half a year, was succeeded by Grindal, one of his most able coadjutors in the review, both of the Prayer Book, and also of the English translation of the Bible. "Grindal," says Camden, "was a religious and grave man, who, returning from banishment under Queen Mary, was made, first Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of York, and, lastly, Archbishop of Canterbury. He flourished in great grace with Queen Elizabeth, till, by the cunning artifices of his adversaries, he quite lost her favour, under pretence that he had countenanced the conventicles of some turbulent and hot-spirited ministers in their prophecies (as they call them); but,

<sup>3</sup> Collier, vol. ii. p. 501.

<sup>4</sup> Collier.

in truth, because he had condemned the unlawful marriage of Julio, an Italian physician, with another man's wife, while Leicester in vain opposed his proceedings."<sup>1</sup> Grindal died in 1583.

In his room succeeded John Whitgift, being translated to Canterbury from the see of Worcester;—"an excellent and very learned man, who gained singular commendations, both by his justice in the Vice-Presidentship of Wales, and by maintaining the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; which commendation he farther merited by his fortitude, prudence, and patience."<sup>2</sup> Upon his appointment to this high office, he was charged by the Queen that he should take especial care to restore the discipline of the Church of England, and the uniformity in Divine Service established by authority of Parliament, which, through the connivance of the Prelates, the obstinacy of the Puritans, and the power of some noblemen, was neglected. The noblemen particularly alluded to seem to have been Leicester, Walsingham, and Knollys, by all of whom the Puritans were secretly favoured. In order to check the numerous irregularities which thus prevailed, and to restore union, Whitgift propounded three Articles to be subscribed to by the Ministers of the Church; in fact, the three Articles in the thirty-sixth Canon, to which the clergy still subscribe.

On this occasion, incredible it is what controversies and disputations arose, what hatred and reproachful speeches he endured from factious ministers, and what troubles, and indeed injuries, he encountered from some noblemen, who, by promoting

<sup>1</sup> Camden, Complete Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 494.

<sup>2</sup> Camden's Elizabeth.

unfit and undeserving men, caused destruction in the Church, or else endeavoured to lay their hands upon its revenues. Through constancy, fortitude, and patience, he overcame all difficulties at last, and restored peace to the Church<sup>3</sup>; so that not without good reason he may seem to have chosen as his motto, "Vincit qui patitur."<sup>4</sup>

## CHAPTER V.

THE PRAYER BOOK UNDER KING JAMES I.—HAMPTON-COURT CONFERENCE.—TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.—DEATH OF WHITGIFT.—CANONS OF 1603.—DIRECTIONS CONCERNING PREACHING.

THE leaning towards the doctrine and discipline of Calvin, which had with difficulty been kept in check by the vigorous administration of Elizabeth, gathered new life and encouragement upon the accession of James in 1602;—encouragement, in appearance, not altogether without foundation, when the ascendancy of that doctrine and discipline in the country in which James had been born and educated was taken into the account. Accordingly, very soon after the arrival of the King in England, a petition was presented to him, praying for several alterations in the rites and formularies, and in the discipline of the Church. This petition was called the Millenary Petition, from its professing that it was signed by a thousand, or "more than a thousand," of his Majesty's subjects and ministers;"

<sup>3</sup> Camden's Elizabeth. Complete Hist. of Eng. vol. ii.

<sup>4</sup> "He overcomes, who suffers with patience."

a profession not strictly according to fact, as the number of the signatures was about 750.

In this Petition the objections to the Liturgy were few and unimportant. With respect to the Church Service, to which alone our attention is now confined, their humble suit was, "That the Cross in Baptism, Interrogations ministered to infants, and Confirmation, as superfluous, may be taken away. Baptism not to be ministered by women, and so explained. The cap and surplice not urged. That examination may go before the Communion; that it be ministered with a Sermon. That divers terms of Priests, and Absolution, and some other used, with the ring in Marriage, and other such like in the book, may be corrected. The Longsomeness of the Service abridged. Church songs and music moderated to better edification. That the Lord's-day be not profaned. The rest upon Holydays not so strictly urged. That there may be an uniformity of doctrine prescribed. No Popish opinion to be any more taught or defended. No ministers charged to teach their people to bow at the Name of Jesus. That the canonical Scriptures only be read in the Church."<sup>1</sup>

This petition was the occasion of the Hampton-Court Conference.<sup>2</sup> 1604

This way of deciding the dispute by conference was proposed by the Puritan party in the late reign; but Queen Elizabeth could not be prevailed with to grant the request. She conceived the exposing things settled to question and dispute would breed disorder, and weaken the force of Government.

<sup>1</sup> Collier, vol. ii. p. 672.

<sup>2</sup> The following account of the Hampton-Court Conference is taken principally from Fuller and Barlew; in part from Collier.



But King James, either out of a desire to satisfy himself, or to show his talent in arguing and elocution, was of a different sentiment, and gave orders for a conference. Accordingly, certain divines of each party received summons to attend his Majesty at the Palace of Hampton<sup>3</sup> Court.<sup>4</sup> At the head of the advocates of the Church was the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift, a man of extensive learning and exalted piety, of whom it has been said, that "he devoutly consecrated both his whole life to God, and his painful labours to the good of the Church."<sup>5</sup> The excellence of his character gave Whitgift great influence with Queen Elizabeth, which influence he successfully exerted for preventing the farther spoliation of the property of the Church by the rapacity of her courtiers, especially by the unprincipled Earl of Leicester. Together with Whitgift, were eight Bishops, among whom were Bancroft, Bishop of London, Matthew, Bishop of Durham, and Bilson, Bishop of Winchester; six Deans of Cathedral Churches, among whom were Andrews, Overall, and Barlow, besides the Dean of the King's Chapel, two Doctors of Divinity, and one Arch-deacon. Those that appeared for the Puritans were four, Dr. John Reynolds and Dr. Sparks of Oxford, and Mr. Knewstubs and Mr. Chaderton of Cambridge, who were sent for by the King as the most

<sup>3</sup> Hampton Court was given by Wolsey to Henry the Eighth in 1526, and during the latter years of that monarch became his favourite residence. It was the birthplace of Edward VI. Hampton Court often received the splendid Court of Elizabeth; and James appears to have made it his first place of residence upon his accession.

<sup>4</sup> Collier, vol. ii. p. 673.

<sup>5</sup> Walton's Life of Hooker.

grave, learned, and modest of the aggrieved party.<sup>1</sup> Reynolds was President of Corpus Christi College in Oxford; and both he and Chaderton, from their acknowledged learning, were soon afterwards employed in the new Translation of the Bible.

The Conference began on the fourteenth of January, on which day none but the Bishops and Deans above mentioned, and the Lords of the Council, were admitted into the presence. The King began, by acquainting the Bishops, and the rest, that the reason of his consulting them by themselves was, to receive satisfaction concerning several usages in the worship and discipline of the Church.

As to the Book of Common Prayer, he required satisfaction in three things.

First, about Confirmation. He scrupled the term; "for if it imported a confirming of Baptism, as if this Sacrament was insignificant without it, then there was blasphemy in the name. For though the ancient custom was defensible, that infants, answering by their godfathers, should be examined when they came to years of discretion; that after having owned the engagement made for them at the font, they should be confirmed with the Bishop's blessing and imposition of hands; yet his Majesty abhorred the abuse of raising this usage to a Sacrament, and attributing its giving any force to Baptism."

The second thing he desired to be cleared was concerning Absolution. His Majesty had been informed that this usage in the Church of England had some resemblance with the Pope's pardons.

His Majesty's third objection was Private Bap-

<sup>1</sup> Strype's Life of Whitgift, folio, p. 571.

tism; meaning the administration of that Sacrament by women and laics.

The Archbishop, after some prefatory expressions of respect, proceeded to give his Majesty satisfaction in the order proposed.

First, as to Confirmation, he showed the antiquity of that rite at large: and that it had been all along practised from the Apostles' times; that this had been the constant usage of Christendom, till some particular Churches had unadvisedly thrown it off of late; and that it was a very untrue suggestion, that the Church of England held Baptism imperfect without Confirmation; and this he made good by the Rubric before this Office.

Bancroft, Bishop of London, seconding the Archbishop, affirmed that Confirmation had for its support not only the practice of the primitive Church, and the testimony of the Fathers, but that it was an Apostolical institution, and a part of the Catechism<sup>1</sup> expressly mentioned in the New Testament;<sup>2</sup> that Calvin expounded the text in the Epistle to the Hebrews in this sense, and earnestly wished the custom might be revived in those reformed Churches which had suppressed it. The Bishop of Durham likewise cited St. Matthew to justify the imposition of hands upon children. The result was, that, for the clearer explanation that the Church of England makes Confirmation neither a Sacrament nor a confirmation of a Sacrament, it should be referred to the Bishops whether the Office, standing as it did, might not be called an Examination with a Confirmation.

With regard to Absolution, the Archbishop cleared the practice of the Church of England from

<sup>1</sup> [i. e. *instruction*.]

<sup>2</sup> Heb. vi. 2.

all abuse and superstition ; and for this appealed to the Confession and Absolution in the beginning of the Prayer Book. The King, perusing the Book, found the allegation true, and acquiesced. But the Bishop of London stepping forward, said, "It becometh us to deal plainly with your Majesty : there is also in the Book a more particular and personal Absolution in the Visitation of the Sick ;"—adding, that not only the Confessions of Augsburg, Bohemia, and Saxony, retained it, but that Calvin approved such a general Confession and Absolution as is used in the Church of England. The form being read, the King said, "I exceedingly well approve of it, being an Apostolical and godly ordinance, given in the name of Christ to one that desireth it upon the clearing of his conscience." The conclusion was, that the Bishops should consult whether the remission of sins ought not to be added to the absolution Rubric for explanation.

The Archbishop then went on to speak of Private Baptism. He endeavoured to satisfy his Majesty, that the Administration of Baptism by women and lay persons was not allowed by the Church of England ; that the Bishops in their Visitations censured this practice ; and that the words in the Office do not infer any such latitude. This occasioned a discussion of some length upon the admissibility and validity of lay-Baptism, in which the King judiciously remarked, that a lawful Minister was essential to the right and lawful Administration of Baptism, supporting his remark by the commission expressly given to the Apostles, "Go ye, and teach (or make disciples of) all nations, baptizing them."<sup>1</sup> Upon the whole it was

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxviii. 19.

resolved, that the Bishops should debate afterwards whether the words "Curate" or "lawful Minister" might not be inserted in the Rubric for Private Baptism.

On the Monday following (Jan. 16), Reynolds, Sparks, Knewstubs, and Chaderton, were called into the Privy Chamber, Patrick Galloway, Minister of Perth, being likewise admitted. For the Church appeared Bancroft, Bishop of London, and Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, together with the Deans and Doctors above mentioned. Whitgift and the other Bishops seem not to have been present. The King, entering the room with Prince Henry, made a short speech, and in the close of it directed his discourse to the four advocates for the Puritans, commending them for their modesty and learning, and letting them know that he was ready to hear what they had to object.

Upon this Dr. Reynolds reduced his remonstrance to four heads, the three first of which had reference to the Articles, the Ministers, and the government of the Church. The fourth was, that the Book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more increase of piety.

On the subject of Confirmation, he objected "that there was an inconsistency between the 25th Article and the Collects of Confirmation; that the first confessed Confirmation to be a depraved imitation of the Apostles; whereas the second grounded it upon their example."

Here Bancroft, a man of great learning and uncompromising honesty, but of a hasty and irritable temper, interrupted Reynolds in a manner which, if permitted, would have precluded all fair discussion, the very object for which they profess- edly were assembled. Upon which the King, as

moderator, said, "My Lord Bishop, something in your passion I may excuse, something I must mislike. I may excuse you thus far, that I think you have just cause to be moved, in respect that they traduce the well-settled government, and also proceed in so indirect a course, contrary to their own pretence, and the intent of this meeting. I mislike your sudden interruption of Dr. Reynolds, whom you should have suffered to have taken his liberty; for there is no order, nor can be any effectual issue of disputation, if each party be not suffered, without stopping, to speak at large. Wherefore, either let the Doctor proceed, or frame your answer to his motions already made, though some of them are very needless."

In reply to Reynolds' remarks upon Confirmation, Bancroft observed, "that the 25th Article merely meant to say, that the making of Confirmation *to be a sacrament* was a corrupt or depraved imitation of the Apostles; but the Prayer Book, aiming at the right use and proper course thereof, makes it to be according to the Apostles' example;" which his Majesty observing, and reading both places, concluded the objection to be a mere cavil.

In support of Confirmation, some additional passages of the early Fathers were brought forward, and Bilson challenged Reynolds, with all his learning, to show wherever Confirmation was used in ancient times by any other but Bishops.

Upon some "rallying discourse" between the King and the Lords of his Council upon the slight nature of the objections made by the Puritans, Bishop Bancroft reminded the King of the speech of the French Ambassador Rognie,<sup>1</sup> upon the view

<sup>1</sup> Rosni (afterwards Duke de Sully), who had recently been sent

of our solemn Service and Ceremonies : " If the reformed Churches in France," says the Ambassador, " had kept on the same advantage of order and decency, I am confident there would have been many thousand Protestants in that country more than there is."<sup>2</sup>

Reynolds having expressed a desire that the Lambeth Articles, which in clear and explicit language assert the doctrines of Calvin on the subject of God's grace and decrees, should be generally received, a great deal of discussion followed upon points connected with those doctrines. After this discussion, Reynolds complained that the Catechism in the Common Prayer was too short, and that by Dean Nowell too long—too long for children to learn by heart. The King thought the Doctor's request very reasonable, " yet so," he continued, " that the Catechism may be made in the fewest and plainest affirmative terms that may be."

Reynolds' next request was for a new translation of the Bible, for that the version now extant did not come up to the meaning and force of the original. Of this he gave several instances. Bancroft replied, that " if every man's humour was to be pleased, there would be no end of translating." The King, however, declared that he had never seen a good translation of the Bible, though he thought that done at Geneva the worst, and wished that the undertaking might be resumed. The method suggested by his Majesty was this. He would have the Version made by the most eminent men in the Universities, and then submitted to the Bishops, and other learned ecclesiastics. Upon this review

sent to England by Henry IV., to congratulate James on his accession to the throne.

<sup>2</sup> Collier, Barlow, and Fuller.

it should be laid before the Privy Council, and in the last place ratified by his Majesty's authority. And then the whole national Church was to use the version thus made, and no other. Bishop Bancroft having suggested that no marginal notes should be added thereunto, the King rejoined, "That caveat is well put in; for in the Geneva translations some notes are partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring of traitorous conceits;" several instances of which he immediately produced.

The King concluded this point with this advice, that errors in matters of faith (if there were any such) should be rectified and amended, and indifferent things should be explained in an inoffensive sense; adding, that the bearing with some blemishes in a Church was better than innovation.<sup>1</sup>

After some conversation, respecting the unlawful and seditious books introduced into the kingdom by the Papists, and upon the importance of planting a learned Minister in every parish, Dr. Reynolds proceeded to mention some of the objections of the Puritans to subscribe to the Prayer Book; the principal of which was, that it enjoins the Apocryphal books to be read in church, notwithstanding some chapters in those books deliver apparent errors and contradictions to canonical Scripture. Each of the two Bishops made some reply; when the King rejoined, "To take an even order betwixt both, I would not have read in church any chapter out of the Apocrypha wherein any error is contained; wherefore, let Dr. Reynolds note those chapters in which the offences are, and bring them to the Archbishop of Canterbury against Wednesday next."

In answer to the objection to the use of the

<sup>1</sup> Barlow, Fuller, and Collier.



Cross in Baptism, brought forward by Knewstubs, it was urged, that the sign of the Cross was not used in Baptism any otherwise than only as a significant ceremony, such as the Church might lawfully order, and such as were in other instances sanctioned by the practice of the Puritans themselves. The King desiring to be informed respecting the antiquity of the use of the Cross, Dr. Reynolds acknowledged that it had been used ever since the Apostles' time; but the question was, how ancient the use thereof had been in Baptism? Upon this, the profoundly learned Andrews, then Dean of Westminster, proved the antiquity of such use of it from Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, and others; and Bishop Bilson argued, that the sign of the Cross was so used in the time of Constantine.

Dr. Reynolds objected the instance of the brazen serpent, beaten to powder by Hezekiah, because it had been abused to idolatry. By parity of reasoning, he conceived the use of the Cross should be suppressed, because it had been carried to a superstitious excess in times of Popery. The substance of the King's answer was, "that the objections they rested upon made against themselves; for the superstitious abuse of it in time of Popery, supposing it true, is an argument that it was commendably used in the ages prior to Popery." "I have lived," continued the King, speaking to the Lords and Bishops, "amongst these men ever since I was ten years old, and nothing has given me a stronger aversion for their system, than their peremptory disapproving every thing used by the Papists: this way of reasoning I detest. For my part, I know no way of avoiding the charge of novelty objected by the Papists, but by answering, that we retain the primitive use

of things, and only stand off from the innovations brought in by themselves ; but Dr. Reynolds' argument would bring us to renounce the Trinity, and many other fundamental points of faith, because they are common to us and the Papists. Dr. Reynolds," said the King, with an air of pleasantry, "they used to wear shoes and stockings in times of Popery ; have you therefore a mind to go barefoot?" Secondly, the King desired to know what resemblance there was between the brazen serpent, a material visible thing, and the sign of the Cross made in the air. Thirdly, he was informed by the Bishops, and found their account true, that the Papists themselves never attributed any spiritual grace to the sign of the Cross in Baptism.<sup>1</sup>

"To say, that in nothing they may be followed which are of the Church of Rome, were violent and extreme. Some things they do in that they are men, in that they are wise men, and Christian men ; some things in that they are misled and blinded with error."<sup>2</sup>

The next scruple was the wearing of the surplice ; this, it was pretended, was a habit worn by the priests of Isis. "This objection," the King said, "was somewhat new, because it was usually called a rag of Popery. But granting the supposition, we do not live now amongst heathens, and therefore there was no danger of reviving paganism. Further, since it was evident from antiquity, that the Clergy officiated in a different habit, and particularly in white linen, he saw no reason why it might not be still continued in the Church ;" laying down this admirable rule, that no society of Christians ought to separate farther from the

<sup>1</sup> Collier.

<sup>2</sup> Hooker, b. v. sect. 28.

Church of Rome, either in doctrine or ceremonies, than she had departed from herself, and her own primitive condition.

Dr. Reynolds took exceptions to the words in the office of Matrimony, "with my body I thee worship." The King, perusing the place, said, "I was made believe the phrase imported no less than Divine worship; but find it an usual English term, as when we say, A gentleman of worship; and it agreeth with the Scriptures, giving honour unto the wife. As for you, Dr. Reynolds, many men speak of Robin Hood, who never shot in his bow. If you had a good wife yourself, you would think all worship and honour you could do her well bestowed on her."

The Dean of Sarum observed, that the ring in marriage was scrupled by some people; but this was approved of by Reynolds, and the King thought they could scarcely be well married without it. Reynolds spoke of the Churching of Women, by the name of Purification; which being read out of the book, his Majesty very well allowed it, and pleasantly said, that women were loth enough of themselves to come to church, and therefore he would have this or any other occasion to draw them hither.

Towards the conclusion of the second day's conference, something having been proposed by Dr. Reynolds which seemed to the King likely to militate against his supremacy, he rather lost his temper, and addressed the advocates of the Puritans in a tone of vehemence and menace, more in unison with his own exaggerated notions of the regal prerogative, than with his character as moderator

in a religious conference. With this exception, the King, throughout the conference, appears to have shown good temper, as well as good sense. He certainly manifested much general knowledge of the various questions which were discussed, much quickness of perception, and readiness of remark and reply, not without a considerable portion of fairness and candour. "The King," says Collier, "was extremely admired by the Lords for the quickness of his apprehension, his skill in controversy, and his dexterity in disentangling difficulties."<sup>1</sup>

The third day's conference related principally to the High Commission Court, the oath *ex officio*, and sundry matters of ecclesiastical discipline. Several civilians were called in, but the advocates for the Puritans were not present till near its conclusion. As to the three Articles<sup>2</sup> which the Clergy were obliged to subscribe, the King, having read them, dilated upon the subject, and showed how necessary this expedient was for preserving peace. He urged, that since the Bishop was to answer for every clergyman in his diocese, it was reasonable that he should know the sentiments of those he admits. "Now the best way to understand the sentiments of his Clergy, and to prevent factions, was to offer them the test of subscribing at their first entrance into the diocese; for, '*Turpius eji-citur, quam non admittitur hospes*;' and again, '*Præstat ut pereat unus, quam unitas.*'"<sup>3</sup>

Towards the conclusion of the conference, the King ordered Dr. Reynolds, and the other three agents, to be called in, and the few alterations, or

<sup>1</sup> Collier, vol. ii. p. 682.

<sup>2</sup> Nearly the same with those in the 36th canon.

<sup>3</sup> Collier and Barlow.

rather explanations, of the Common Prayer, agreed to by the King and the Bishops, were read to them.

Those mentioned by Barlow, in his account of the Conference, are as follows: First, In the Rubric of Absolution, Remission of Sins is added. Secondly, Whereas it was said in the Rubric for Private Baptism, 'First, let them that be present,' &c., it is now altered thus, 'First, let the lawful Minister and them that be present.' In the Rubric to the same Office, when it was said, 'that they baptize not children,' it was to be altered to, 'that they cause not children to be baptized;' and the words 'Curate, or lawful Minister present shall do it in this fashion.' Thirdly, A slight alteration was also made in the Rubric before Confirmation. And, fourthly, 'Jesus said to them,' was to be put twice in the Sunday Gospel, instead of, 'Jesus said to his disciples;' an inaccuracy remarked by the Puritans. To these explanations, Reynolds and the other agents for the Nonconformists assented, seemed satisfied with the result of the Conference, and promised to regard the Bishops as their spiritual fathers, and to perform all duty to them.<sup>4</sup> Besides the trifling alterations above mentioned, there were added after the Litany, Thanksgivings, For Rain, For Fair Weather, For Plenty, For Peace and Victory, and For Deliverance from the Plague. There were added also to the Catechism all the questions and answers relating to the Sacraments.

Dr. John Reynolds, who took so prominent a part in this Conference, was a man of great learning and piety, and was appointed one of the Commissioners for the new translation of the Bible, but

<sup>4</sup> Collier.

died soon after his engaging in the work. He was born at Pinho in Devonshire; bred in Oxford, where he was King's Professor of Divinity,<sup>1</sup> and President of Corpus Christi College. His brother William and himself happened to divide in their persuasion; John was a zealous Papist, and William as heartily engaged in the Reformation. Afterwards the two brothers, entering into a close dispute, argued with that strength, that they turned each other. This gave occasion to a copy of verses, concluding with this distich:—

*Quod genus hoc pugnae est? ubi victus gaudet uterque,  
Et simul alteruter se superasse dolet.*

What war is this? when conquer'd both are glad,  
And either, to have conquer'd other, sad.

This Dr. Reynolds, notwithstanding his appearing for the Dissenters at the Hampton-Court Conference, conformed himself to the Church ceremonies. For instance, he eventually wore the hood and surplice, and received the Holy Eucharist kneeling. And on his deathbed he earnestly desired absolution in the form prescribed by the Rubric; and having received it with imposition of hands by Dr. Holland, expressed his satisfaction with much feeling.<sup>2</sup>

The most important result of the Hampton-Court Conference was the New Translation of the Bible, that excellent Version which we now have in common use. The work was entrusted, in the first instance, to fifty-four<sup>3</sup> of the most learned men in the kingdom. As a preparatory step, James addressed a letter to the Archbishop, re-

<sup>1</sup> I cannot discover his Professorship. <sup>2</sup> Collier and Fuller.

<sup>3</sup> Fuller gives the number as forty-seven; some of those first named having died in the interval.

quiring him “to move all our Bishops to inform themselves of all such learned men within their several dioceses, as, having especial skill in the Hebrew and Greek tongues, having taken pains, in their private studies of the Scriptures, for the clearing of any obscurities either in the Hebrew or in the Greek, or touching any difficulties or mistakings in the former English Translation, which we have now commanded to be thoroughly viewed and amended; and thereupon to write unto them, earnestly charging them, that they send such their observations, to be imparted to the Commissioners, that so our said intended Translation may have the help and furtherance of all our principal learned men within this our kingdom.”

The whole number of the Translators was divided into six divisions, a separate portion of Scripture being assigned to each. Some of the judicious instructions suggested to them by the King were as follows:—

1. The Bible then read in the Church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, was to receive as few alterations as might be, and was to pass throughout, unless the originals called plainly for an amendment:—The Translations, however, of Tindal, Mathews, Coverdale, Whitchurch, and Geneva, were to be used when they came closer to the original.

2. The old ecclesiastical words were to be retained.

3. When any word has several significations, that which has been commonly used by the most celebrated Fathers should be preferred; provided it were agreeable to the context, and to the analogy of faith.

4. Every member of each Division was to take

the chapters assigned for the whole company ; and after having gone through the Version or corrections, all the Division was to meet, examine their respective performances, and come to a resolution, which parts of them should stand.

5. When any Division had finished a Book in this manner, they were to transmit it to the rest to be farther considered.

6. In case of any difference of opinion respecting amendments, the dispute was to be referred to a general committee, consisting of the ablest men of each Division.

7. Lastly, three or four of the most eminent divines in each of the Universities, though not of the Translators, were to be assigned by the Vice-Chancellor, to consult with the other Heads of Houses for reviewing the whole translation.<sup>1</sup>

The Translators entered upon their work in 1607, and were nearly three years before they had completed it. The result of their care and diligence we have in the excellent Translation now used ; a Translation which has contributed essentially, not only to the maintenance of sound religion, but also —(if such a remark may here be allowed)—to the preservation of the English language in its purity and strength.

Whitgift himself did not live to take part in this great work. He had been unwell for some time ; and soon after the Hampton-Court Conference, going in the month of February, in his barge, to the palace at Fulham, to meet with some Bishops and Judges of his Court, there to confer about the affairs of the Church, the weather being inclement and tempestuous, he caught cold. A

<sup>1</sup> Collier, vol. ii. p 694, and Fuller.



few days after he had a long discourse with the King and the Bishop of London upon ecclesiastical business; and going thence to the Council-chamber to dinner, after a long fasting, he suffered a severe attack of palsy in his right side, which deprived him of speech. Two days after he was visited by the King, who, out of his sense of the great need he should have of him at this particular juncture, told him he would pray to God for his life; and that if he could obtain it, he should think it one of the greatest temporal blessings that could be given him in this kingdom. The Archbishop would have said something in reply, but his speech failed him, so that he uttered only imperfect words. He was just heard to repeat earnestly, with his eyes and hands lifted up, "*Pro Ecclesiâ Dei! Pro Ecclesiâ Dei!*"<sup>2</sup> The next day, February 29, he quietly departed this life.

Whitgift held the high office of Archbishop for twenty years, and had learning, courage, and temper suitable to his station. It was his custom to do a great deal of business without much appearance of effort. His house was a sort of academy, where young gentlemen were instructed in languages, mathematics, and other sciences. He entertained a great many indigent scholars in his family, gave exhibitions to several at the Universities, and encouraged them in proportion to their merits and necessities.<sup>3</sup> The character given of him by one layman<sup>4</sup> has been already mentioned. A second calls him "a holy, grave, and pious man."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, p. 578.

<sup>3</sup> Collier, pp. 683, 684.

<sup>4</sup> Camden, see p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> Wilson's *Complete History of England*. vol. ii. p. 665.

And a third<sup>1</sup> says of him, that he was “a man born for the benefit of his country and the good of the Church.”<sup>2</sup>

In the interval between the death of Whitgift and the appointment of his successor, a measure was carried into effect, directly and materially bearing upon the Church and her service.<sup>3</sup> This was the establishing of the Canons, under which the Clergy of the Church of England are now governed;<sup>4</sup> the Clergy, since it has been determined by a formal judicial decision that the Canons do not—*proprio vigore*—bind the laity.<sup>5</sup> The Convocation met on the twentieth of March, 1604. The See of Canterbury being now vacant, the

<sup>1</sup> Stow, as quoted by Strype.

<sup>2</sup> “He built a large Almshouse near to his own palace at Croydon, in Surrey, and endowed it with maintenance for a master and twenty-eight poor men and women; which he visited so often, that he knew their names and dispositions, and was so truly humble, that he called them brothers and sisters: and whensoever the Queen descended to that lowliness to dine with him at his palace in Lambeth (which was very often), he would usually, the next day, show the like lowliness to his poor brothers and sisters at Croydon, and dine with them at his Hospital; at which time you may believe there was joy at the table. And at this place he built also a fair Free School, with a good accommodation and maintenance for the master and scholars.”—Walton’s Life of Hooker.

<sup>3</sup> The Prayer Book refers to the thirtieth Canon for an explanation of the reason for using the sign of the Cross in Baptism; and the thirty-sixth Canon gives the form in which clergymen signify their assent to the Prayer Book.

<sup>4</sup> Some years ago it was stated in a highly-respectable periodical publication (Blackwood’s Magazine), that the Clergy of the Church of England were sworn to obey the Canons. The mistake was occasioned by the oath of canonical obedience upon institution to a Living, by which oath the Clergyman taking it engages to “perform true and canonical obedience to the Bishop of the Diocese, and his successors, in all things lawful and honest.”

<sup>5</sup> See Lord Hardwick’s judgment in the preface to Burn’s Ecclesiastical Law.

Dean and Chapter of that Church gave a commission to Bancroft, Bishop of London, to preside in the Synod. In the eleventh session, the President delivered to the Prolocutor a book of Canons, which passed both houses, and were afterwards ratified by the King's Letters Patent. Those Canons, being a hundred and forty-one, were collected by Bishop Bancroft out of the Articles, Injunctions, and Synodical Acts, passed and published in the reigns of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth,<sup>6</sup> particularly those put forth in the years 1571 and 1597.<sup>7</sup>

After a vacancy of about nine months in the See of Canterbury, Bancroft, Bishop of London, was translated to it. Bancroft was a man of deep and accurate learning, who thoroughly understood the constitution of the Church, and was cordially attached to it. He accordingly governed with great vigour, and pressed a strict conformity to the Rubric and Canons, without any allowance for latitude of interpretation, or for those of a different persuasion. This unrelenting strictness gave a new face to the public exercises of religion. Divine Service was performed with more solemnity; the Fasts and Festivals were better observed; the use of copes was renewed; the surplice generally worn; and all things, in a manner, brought back to the first settlement under Elizabeth. Some who had formerly subscribed to the Prayer Book in a loose sense, with some mental reservation, were now called upon to sign their conformity in more close unequivocal terms. For now the 36th Canon obliged them to declare that they did subscribe willingly and ex animo, so that no room was left for evasion.

<sup>6</sup> Collier, vol. ii. p. 687.

<sup>7</sup> Fuller, p. 28.

And thus some Ministers<sup>1</sup> of consideration lost their livings to preserve their conscience; for it is a hard matter to bring everybody's understanding to a common standard, or to make all honest men of the same mind.<sup>2</sup>

Bancroft died towards the conclusion of the year 1610. Upon the vacancy of the See of Canterbury, occasioned by his death, several of the Bishops then in London met to consult together who was the fittest person to be his successor. The great learning and piety of Andrews, the Bishop of Ely, pointed him out for that elevated station; and the Bishops concurring in opinion as to his distinguished merit, they recommended him to the King. Believing that the King was willing to accede to their recommendation, and that there was no occasion for soliciting any farther, they either retired into the country, or, at all events, desisted from pressing their application. In the mean time, the Earl of Dunbar was so urgent with the King for the appointment of Abbot, Bishop of London, that the King, in the yielding easiness of his disposition, gave way, and Abbot was appointed.

Abbot was a man of holy and unblameable life,<sup>3</sup> but was not much beloved by the inferior clergy, as over rigid and austere. "Indeed," says Fuller, "he was mounted to command in the Church, before he ever learned to obey therein; made a shepherd of shepherds, before he was a shepherd of sheep; consecrated Bishop before ever called to a parochial charge; which, say some, made him not to sympathize with the necessities and infirmities

<sup>1</sup> Collier says forty-nine.

<sup>2</sup> Collier, vol. ii. p. 687.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson's History of James the First. Welwood's Memoirs. Fuller, p. 87.

of poor Ministers.”<sup>4</sup> In the year 1621 a sad accident happened to the Archbishop. He had been invited by Lord Zouch to Bramshill, in Hampshire, to hunt and kill a buck; the keeper ran amongst the herd of deer to bring them up to the fairer mark, while the Archbishop, sitting on his horse, discharged a barbed arrow from a cross-bow, and unhappily hit the keeper in the arm, who died almost immediately. This presently put an end to the sport of that day, and almost to the Archbishop’s mirth to the last of his life. He gave, during his own lifetime, twenty pounds a year to the man’s widow (who quickly remarried), and kept a monthly fast on Tuesday, the day on which the accident happened.

It may be expedient to mention here the Directions concerning Preaching put forth by King James in the year 1623, from their connexion—not indeed, strictly speaking, with the Prayer Book, but—with the Public Service of the Church. The substance of these directions is as follows:—

1. That no preacher, under the degree of Bishop or Dean, do take occasion to fall into any set discourse (otherwise than by the opening the coherence and division of the text), which shall not be comprehended and warranted in substance, effect, or natural inference, in some one of the Articles of Religion, or in some of the Homilies.

2. That no parson shall preach any sermons upon Sundays or Holydays in the afternoon, but upon some part of the Catechism, particularly the Creed, Ten Commandments, and the Lord’s Prayer; and that those preachers be most encouraged and approved of who spend the afternoon’s exercise in the

examination of children in their Catechism, which is the most ancient and laudable custom of teaching in the Church of England.

3. That no preacher under the degree of a Bishop, or Dean in the least, do from henceforth presume to preach at any popular auditory upon the deep points of predestination, election, reprobation, or of the universality, efficacy, resistibility or irresistibility of God's grace, but leave those themes rather to be handled by learned men, and that moderately and modestly by way of use and application, rather than by way of positive doctrine, being fitter for the schools than for simple auditories.

4. That no preacher shall from henceforth presume to declare, limit, or bound out, in any sermon, the power, prerogative, authority, or duty of sovereign princes, or otherwise meddle with matters of state, than as they are instructed and preceded in the Homilies of Obedience, &c. &c.; but rather confine themselves wholly to those two heads, of faith and good life, which are all the subjects of the ancient sermons and homilies.

5. That no preacher shall presume causelessly (or without invitation from the text) to fall into bitter invectives or indecent railing speeches against the persons of either Papists or Puritans; but modestly and gravely, when they are occasioned thereunto by the text of Scripture, free both the doctrine and the discipline of the Church from the aspersions of either adversaries, especially where the auditory is suspected to be tainted with the one or the other infection.

6. Lastly, That the Archbishops and Bishops (whom his Majesty hath good cause to blame for their former remissness) be more wary and choice in their licensing of preachers: and that all the

Lecturers throughout the kingdom (a new body severed from the ancient Clergy) be licensed henceforward in the Court of Faculties, but only from a recommendation of the party from the Bishop of the diocese under his hand and seal, with a fiat from the Archbishop, and a confirmation under the Great Seal.<sup>1</sup>

It may well be supposed that these directions gave considerable offence. They were looked upon as a reflection on the discretion of, and an unusual restraint on, the Clergy.<sup>2</sup>

About two years after the issuing of these directions the reign of James drew towards its conclusion. In the spring of the year 1625 he was seized with a tertian ague; and when encouraged by his courtiers with the common proverb, that this distemper, during that season, was health for a King, he replied, that the proverb was meant of a young King.<sup>3</sup>

Four days before his death he desired to receive the Sacrament; and being asked whether he was prepared for receiving in point of faith and charity, he said he was, and gave humble thanks to God for the same. Being desired to declare his faith, and to say what he thought of the religious books which he had written, he repeated the Articles of the Creed one by one, and said, "He believed them all as they were received and expounded by that part of the Catholic Church which was established here in England." He added, with a degree of vivacity, that "whatever he had written of this faith in his life, he was now ready to seal with his death." Being questioned with respect to his charity, he

<sup>1</sup> Fuller and Collier.

<sup>2</sup> Collier.

<sup>3</sup> Hume's History of England.

answered, "That he forgave all men that offended him, and desired to be forgiven by all Christians whom he in any wise had offended." Some hours after receiving the Sacrament, he professed to his son and successor, and his attendants, that "they could not imagine what ease and comfort he found in himself since the receiving thereof:" and so quietly resigned his soul to God.<sup>1</sup>

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## CHAPTER VI.

PRAYER BOOK UNDER KING CHARLES THE FIRST—DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP ABBOT, AND APPOINTMENT OF LAUD—SCOTCH PRAYER BOOK—LONG PARLIAMENT—ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES—THE DIRECTORY—PRAYER BOOK ABOLISHED BY PARLIAMENT—ATTAINDER AND DEATH OF LAUD—PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

CHARLES the First, like his father, had acquired, at an early age, a considerable portion of theological knowledge, and was equally attached to the Prayer Book, and to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. During the whole of his reign he was anxious to promote the establishment of the Prayer Book, and of Episcopacy, in Scotland, the land of his birth; and this constituted one leading object of his visit to that country in the year 1633. He found, however, that the temper of his countrymen and of the times was not such as to render the attempt to introduce the Liturgy expedient or safe.

Soon after his return to England, about the end of August, died Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>1</sup> Fuller.



Abbot's personal character appears to have been free from blame; but it is said of him, by Clarendon, that he considered the Christian Religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled Popery, and valued those men most who did that the most furiously. If men prudently forebore a public reviling and railing at the hierarchy and ecclesiastical government, let their opinions and private practice be what they would, they were not only secure from any inquisition of his, but acceptable to him, and, at least, equally preferred by him. And though many other Bishops plainly discerned the mischiefs which broke in, to the prejudice of religion, by his defects and remissness, and prevented it in their own dioceses as much as they could,"—"yet that temper of the Archbishop, whose house was a sanctuary to the most eminent of the factious party, and who licensed their most pernicious writings, left his successor a very difficult work to do, to reform and to reduce a Church into order that had been so long neglected, and that was so ill filled by many weak and more wilful Churchmen."

Upon the death of Abbot, the King took very little time to consider who should be his successor; but the very next time that Laud, Bishop of London, came to him, accosted him with these words, "My Lord's Grace of Canterbury, you are very welcome."

Laud was possessed of an acute and vigorous intellect, of accurate and extensive learning, both as a scholar and as a theologian, and was one of the most munificent patrons of learning and of learned men that the country has ever known. He was a man of undaunted courage, of strict personal inte-

grity and singleness of heart, and of humble and ardent piety.<sup>1</sup> But his temper was hasty and irritable, his voice harsh, and his manner often ungracious. He took no pains to soften or conciliate those to whom his manners were distasteful; and when a person of some distinction waited on him for the purpose of removing some offence occasioned by the Archbishop's want of courtesy, Laud dismissed him rather rudely, saying, that, "he had no time for compliments."<sup>2</sup> "He believed," says one who knew him well and intimately, "he believed innocence of heart, and integrity of manners, was a guard strong enough to secure any man in his voyage through this world, in what company soever he travelled, and through what ways soever he was to pass: and sure never any man was better supplied with that provision."<sup>3</sup> Certainly he appears to have been deficient in that practical wisdom and prudence, that discernment of, and attention to, the temper and prejudices of the people, which were essential to carry him with safety through the turbulent times in which he lived. In his high-minded integrity, however, he could not stoop, he could not bend himself, to any condescension that wore the appearance of time-serving. It must be acknowledged, too, that it is hardly possible to acquit him of participation in some of the iniquitous and rigorous sentences pronounced by the Star Chamber and High Commission Court; though in the cruel punishment inflicted upon Leighton, and afterwards upon Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, he had not, it seems, directly, any share.

<sup>1</sup> See the very interesting *Life of Laud*, by Mr. Le Bas.

<sup>2</sup> See Laud's vindication of himself in this instance in *Clarendon's Life*, Part I.

<sup>3</sup> *Clarendon*, Book I.

The remissness of his predecessor, Abbot, had rendered necessary measures which increased the unpopularity of Laud. "For the strict observation of the discipline of the Church, or conformity to the Articles or Canons, Abbot made little inquiry, and took less care; and having himself made little progress in ancient and solid divinity, he adhered only to the doctrine of Calvin, and for his sake did not think so ill of the discipline of the Calvinists as he ought to have done.<sup>4</sup> The remissness of Abbot had affected not only the discipline, but also the edifices of the Church, which, in many parishes, were suffered to become sadly dilapidated, so as to admit the wind and rain. The expense occasioned by the attempt to enforce the necessary reparations concurred, with other circumstances, to exasperate against the new Archbishop the hostility of those whose property was thus subjected to a burden which, though sanctioned by law, they had hitherto evaded.

A measure which, in its long train of consequences, contributed most essentially to the overthrow of the Constitution in Church and State, and ultimately to bring both Charles and Laud to the block, was the attempt to introduce into Scotland the Liturgy of the Church of England.

This measure had been contemplated by James, who was very anxious to establish a uniformity of Divine worship throughout the whole of his dominions. An Act had accordingly passed in Scotland, authorising certain of the Bishops of that country to prepare a Book of Common Prayer. When the project was revived in the reign of Charles, it was determined not to attempt the introduction of the English Liturgy in precisely the

<sup>4</sup> Clarendon.

same words, lest it should be misconstrued into a badge of dependence of the Scotch Church upon the Church of England. It was resolved, also, that the two Liturgies should not differ in substance, that no ground of attack, or of triumph, might be given to the Romanists.<sup>1</sup> It seems that the Liturgy intended for Scotland, if not entirely composed, was yet carefully examined and arranged by the Scottish Bishops; who, from their acquaintance with the old Liturgical forms of Eucharistic Service, thought proper to make the first Book of Edward the Sixth the model which they copied after, in preference to the Communion Service then used in England; a preference in strict accordance with the opinions and wishes of Archbishop Laud.<sup>2</sup> The most material points of difference between the two Liturgies were in that Service, and in the Office for Baptism. The word Priest in the English Service, having given offence, was, in the Scotch Rubric, changed to Presbyter. All the Apocryphal Lessons were struck out of the Calendar, with the exception of two chapters on All Saints' Day; and the names of several Saints who had been natives of Scotland, or Ireland, were inserted in the Scotch Calendar, but only in black letters.<sup>3</sup> The Psalms, the Epistles and Gospels, were, it seems, to be taken from the new translation of the Scriptures.<sup>4</sup> And the expression by the congregation of praise and thanksgiving before and after the Gospel, which is still adopted in many Churches in England, was prescribed by the Rubric.

The advance made in the former reign towards

<sup>1</sup> Fuller, cent. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 299.

<sup>3</sup> Fuller.

<sup>4</sup> Russell's Hist. of the Church in Scotland.

the constitution of the English Church, however just and reasonable, had made the Scotch more and more averse to the Church and Court of England. The Book of Canons for Scotland, which should have followed the Liturgy (because referring to the rites and ceremonies required by it), came preposterously out before it, in 1635, and contained many things likely to occasion popular odium.<sup>5</sup> A deep and bitter spirit of hostility had, accordingly, been generated and grown up among the people, which burst into a flame when the Liturgy was first read in Edinburgh, on the 23rd of July, 1637. The Archbishop of St. Andrew's, with two or three other Bishops, the Lords of the Council and of the Session, the Magistrates of the city, and a great auditory of all sorts of people, being convened in the high church of St. Giles, no sooner had the Dean of Edinburgh, in his surplice, begun to read the prayers from the desk, but immediately a multitude of the meaner sort, most of them women, with clapping of hands, clamours, outcries, and curses, raised such a hideous noise, that not a word could be distinctly heard, and then a shower of stones and sticks were thrown at the Dean's head. The Bishop of Edinburgh, who was to preach that day, stepped into the pulpit with a view to appease the tumult by putting them in mind of the sacredness of the place, and of their duty to God and the King. But this enraged them the more; and a woman, named Janet Geddes, threw her folding-stool at the Bishop, which might have killed him, had it not been turned aside by the hand of a person near him. Upon this, the Archbishop, as Chancellor, called upon

<sup>5</sup> Complete Hist. of England.

the Provost and Magistrates to suppress the riot, by their authority; which, with great difficulty, was done, by thrusting the most unruly out of the church, and shutting the doors. The Dean now went on with the service, but was still disturbed by the mob without, who pelted the doors and windows with sticks and stones, crying, "A Pope! a Pope! Antichrist! Pull him down! Stane him! stane him!" with all the signs of ungovernable fury. When the Bishops, at the conclusion of the Service, were going home, the rabble followed them with the most opprobrious language, and treated Bishop Lindsay so rudely, that had he not providentially got into a private house, after they had torn his habit, he would undoubtedly have fallen a sacrifice to their fury. The same spirit appeared, though not to such a violent degree, in the other churches of the city, where the Ministers who read the Prayer Book were assailed with the most bitter execrations against Bishops and Popery.<sup>1</sup>

This unfortunate and ill-managed attempt, with the tumult which it occasioned, led on to the abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland, to the Solemn League and Covenant, and to the invasion of England by the Scotch army; and, in its consequences, contributed not a little, in concurrence with other unhappy circumstances, to the fatal war between Charles and his Parliament.

It is by no means the object of the present work to trace the progress of the unhappy dissensions and calamitous civil war, which terminated in the utter overthrow of the Constitution in Church and State. The Long Parliament met at Westminster

<sup>1</sup> Skinner, Fuller, Collier, Complete Hist. of England, Clarendon.

on the 3rd of November, 1640. It contained many members of distinguished ability; but among those who were most influenced by religion a great majority had a strong leaning to the doctrine and discipline of the Calvinists, and were animated by a spirit of bitter hostility to Episcopacy, and to the established ordinances and Liturgy of the Church. At the first opening of the Session, violent speeches were made by Bagshaw and others against the Crown and the Church—speeches which gave early indication of what was to follow.<sup>2</sup> In December, Mr. Denzil Hollis was sent up from the Lower House to the Lords, with an impeachment of high treason against Archbishop Laud. Upon this the Archbishop was committed to the custody of the Black Rod, and continued under that restraint till the 1st of March, when he was sent to the Tower. Not many days after, the Lords appointed a Committee of their own members for the settling of peace in the Church. This Committee consisted of ten Earls, ten Bishops, and ten Barons, the lay votes being thus double those of the Clergy. At the same time the Lords appointed a Sub-Committee to prepare matters for their consideration (Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, having the chair in both Committees), and to call together several Bishops and Divines to consult for correction of what was amiss, and to restore peace."<sup>3</sup> Among those divines were some of the ablest men of both parties. Archbishop Usher, Hall, Sanderson, Brownrigg, and Hackett, were leading men among the friends of the Church; and Calamy, Twisse, Marshall, and Burges, were eminent among the Calvinists.

<sup>2</sup> Collier, vol. ii. p. 795.

<sup>3</sup> Fuller, cent. xvii. p. 174.

With respect to the Prayer Book, they consulted whether some legendary and some much-doubted saints, with some superstitious memorials, might not be expunged from the Calendar; whether it was not fit that the Lessons should be only out of Canonical Scripture; the Epistles, Gospels, Psalms, and Hymns, to be read in the new translation; whether times prohibited for marriage might not totally be taken away; whether it were not fit that hereafter none should have a licence, or have their banns of matrimony published, excepting such as should bring a certificate from their Minister that they were instructed in the Church Catechism; whether the Rubric might not be altered and explained in many particulars.<sup>1</sup> "Some are of opinion," continues Fuller, "that the moderation and mutual compliance of these divines might have produced much good, if not interrupted, conceiving such lopping might have saved the felling of Episcopacy." This consultation was continued till the middle of May, when it was broken off by the attack made in the House of Commons upon Deans and Chapters.

The well-known hostility of the House of Commons to the Established Church did so much encourage the schismatical and enthusiastic people, that they broke out into the most insolent rudeness, interrupting the Church Service in a most disorderly manner. Complaint and proof being made of this in the House, they resolved that the following order should be read publicly in all the parish churches of London, Westminster, and Southwark: "That the Divine Service be performed as it is appointed by the Acts of Par-

<sup>1</sup> Fuller, p. 175.



liament of this realm; and that all such as shall disturb this wholesome order shall be severely punished according to law; and that the Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, in the several parishes, shall forbear to introduce any rites or ceremonies that may give offence, otherwise than those which are established by the law of the land."

The King was so well pleased as to return the House thanks for this order; not considering that the reading of it in churches should have been rather enjoined by his own prerogative, or the jurisdiction of the Ordinary.<sup>2</sup>

The hostility of the House of Commons to the Bishops and the Liturgy becoming more and more violent, the Lords, in September, found it necessary to declare, that "The Book of Common Prayer should be observed in all churches without any omission or alteration; and that none should offer any contempt at the use of it."

The House of Commons, however, persevered in their attack upon the Established Church. One of their first measures was to bring in a Bill for the purpose of excluding the Bishops from the House of Lords. In this attempt they were, as usual, assisted by the mob. Petitions came up from several counties, setting forth that the Bishops were a common nuisance; that the decay of trade, the clogging and disappointing of all business in Parliament, was occasioned by the Bishops. The rabble went on to railing and insulting their persons, and throwing stones at them, so that they could not come to the House of Lords either by land or water, without imminent hazard of their lives.<sup>3</sup> The Bill against the Bishops passed both

<sup>2</sup> Complete Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> Collier, vol. iii. p. 317.

Houses in February, 1642, and the King, though with the utmost reluctance, was prevailed upon to give his assent.

In proportion as the King gave way, the Parliament grew more exorbitant and peremptory in their demands; till at length the well-meaning, but too-yielding Charles was driven to have recourse to arms for the defence of what was left of his prerogative, of the monarchical constitution of the country, and of the established religion; and, on the 22nd of August, set up the Royal standard at Nottingham.

The attack upon the Prayer Book was at first carried on with a certain appearance of moderation. In April, the two Houses published a declaration, "That they intended a due and necessary reformation of the government and Liturgy of the Church, and to take away nothing in the one or the other but what should be evil and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary and burthensome; and for the better effecting thereof they would speedily consult with godly and learned divines."<sup>1</sup>

In pursuance of this declaration they proceeded to pass an ordinance for convening the Assembly of Divines. They did not venture to refer the choice of these divines to the beneficed Clergy, according to the customary method of choosing provincial synods, nor did they pay any regard to the division of dioceses; but reserving the power of election to themselves, they gave the nomination to the Knights of Shires, requiring them to name two or more divines for each county. By the recommendation of two or three members of the Commons, whom they were not willing to displease,

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon, Book I. Sanderson's Oxford Reasons.

and by the authority of the Lords, who added a small number to those named by the House of Commons, a few very reverend and worthy persons were inserted; but of the whole number of one hundred and twenty, of which the Assembly was originally to consist, there were not above twenty who were not declared and avowed enemies to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.<sup>2</sup> Among the Episcopalians were Usher, Brownrigg, Westfield, Featly, Sanderson, &c. The most distinguished Presbyterians in the Assembly were Twisse (who was chosen prolocutor), Burgess, E. Reynolds, Cheynell, and Caryl, of Oxford; and of Cambridge, Gouge, Gataker, Scudder, Marshall, Newcomen, and the very learned Lightfoot. The names of several leading members of both Houses were added to those of the divines. It may well be supposed that few of the Episcopalians attended, as they considered the Assembly as unsanctioned either by law or primitive usage.

One of the earliest measures of the Assembly of Divines was to unite with the Members of the two Houses of Parliament in taking the "Solemn League and Covenant," by which they bound themselves to "endeavour the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, and the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland; so as to bring the Churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of Church government," &c. &c. That is, the Church in England and Ireland was to be brought to a conformity with the Church of Scotland, which

<sup>2</sup> Clarendon and Collier. See Clarendon's character of many of the members.

appears in their estimation to have been perfect, and needing no reformation whatever.

They engaged, secondly, to endeavour the extirpation of Popery and Prelacy, &c. &c. The other objects of this engagement it is needless to specify: they may be found in many publications of easy access, and particularly in Sanderson's Oxford Reasons against taking the Covenant.

The Assembly next proceeded to prepare "A Directory for the public worship of God throughout the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland;" which on the 3rd of January, 1644, was established by an Ordinance of Parliament. The Ordinance begins, "The Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, taking into serious consideration the manifold inconveniences that have arisen by the Book of Common Prayer in this kingdom, and resolving, according to their Covenant, to reform religion, &c., &c., do judge it necessary that the said Book of Common Prayer shall be abolished, and the Directory for the public worship of God, hereinafter mentioned, be established and observed in all churches within this kingdom," &c. &c. It then goes on to repeal all previous Acts for establishing the Prayer Book; orders the Directory to be used in every church and chapel; and directs Register Books to be provided.

Just a week after this condemnation of the Prayer Book followed the execution of him who had so zealously supported it, Archbishop Laud. Laud, having been three years in prison, his jurisdiction and patronage seized, and his estate sequestered, was now impeached of high treason before the House of Lords. As he had committed no legal offence that could justify his condemnation, the

House abandoned the Impeachment, and determined to proceed by way of Attainder. The Bill for this purpose passed the Commons the 16th of November, 1643; but the Lords could not be induced to consent, till threatened with personal violence. At length, in January, the Ordinance of Attainder passed by the voice of six or seven Peers, the rest of that Assembly having absented themselves through fear or shame.<sup>1</sup> On his way to execution he was occasionally assailed by the revilings of the lowest of the populace, who were unwilling that he should pass even to the grave in peace. But his composure was unruffled by their insults; and when he reached the spot, he ascended the platform “with so brave a courage, and a countenance so cheerful, as if he mounted rather to behold a triumph than to be made a sacrifice.” On the scaffold he addressed the people in an eloquent and forcible manner, and then offered a sublime and pathetic prayer to the God whom he had so long served. He then met his death with the cool self-possession and courage of a hero, and the resignation, humility, and faith of a Christian martyr. “Thus fell Laud,” says Heylin, “and the Church fell with him; the Liturgy whereof was voted down about the same time that the Ordinance was passed for his condemnation: the Presbyterian Directory<sup>2</sup> authorized for the press, by Ordinance, March 13; Episcopacy, root and branch, suppressed by Ordinance, in like manner, October 9, 1646; the lands of the Cathedrals sold; the Bishops dispossessed of their lands and rents, without the charity of a small annual pension towards their support; the regular and conform-

<sup>1</sup> Le Bas.

<sup>2</sup> For a short account of the Directory, see Appendix.

able Clergy sequestered, ejected,<sup>1</sup> and turned out of all, to the utter undoing of themselves, their wives, and children.”<sup>2</sup> Orders were issued by Parliament for sequestering the estates of, and ejecting from their livings, all malignants and delinquents; under which words were comprehended all that were true to their engagements to their Church and King, all who refused the Covenant when pressed to take it, and all who persisted in using the Common Prayer.

Of the manner in which these orders were enforced by the ruder instruments of those who had overthrown the Church of England, many instances are found in the histories and memoirs of the times.

Sanderson, who, after the Restoration, was for a short time Bishop of Lincoln, was a man of distinguished learning, and of singular kindness and gentleness of disposition. His high character occasioned his being named as one of the Assembly of Divines, though he never attended. He was for many years Rector of Boothby Pannel, where he continued to officiate, though for some time the profits of his living were sequestered by Parliament. “Here the soldiers of the Parliament would appear, and visibly disturb him in the church when he read prayers, pretending to advise him how God was to be served most acceptably: and he not approving, but continuing to observe order and decent behaviour in reading the Church Service, they forced his book from him and tore it, expecting extemporary prayers.”

<sup>1</sup> Walker (Sufferings of the Clergy) reckons, and gives at length the proof or ground on which his estimate is formed, that more than seven thousand clergymen were thus ejected. This estimate seems to include ejected Fellows of Colleges.

<sup>2</sup> Le Bas's *Life of Laud*.

“ At this time he was advised by a Parliament man of power and note, that loved and valued him much, not to be strict in reading all the Common Prayer, but make some little variation, especially if the soldiers came to watch him ; for then it might not be in the power of him and his other friends to secure him from taking the Covenant, or sequestration ;<sup>3</sup> for which reasons he did vary somewhat from the strict rules of the Rubric.”<sup>4</sup> The opinion of our Liturgy expressed by this meek and holy man, in an accidental conversation with his honest and single-minded biographer, deserves to be repeatedly brought forward. He did most highly commend the Common Prayer of the Church, saying, “ The Collects were the most passionate, proper, and most elegant expressions that any language ever afforded ; and that there was in them such piety, and that so interwoven with instruction, that they taught us to know the power, the wisdom, the majesty, and mercy of God, and much of our duty both to Him and our neighbour ; and that a congregation behaving themselves reverently, and putting up to God these joint and known desires for pardon of sins, and praises for mercies received, could not but be more pleasing to God than those raw unpremeditated expressions, to which many of the hearers could not say Amen.” And he then commended to me the frequent use of the Psalter or Psalms of David, speaking to this purpose : “ That they were the treasury of Christian comfort, fitted to all persons and all necessities ; able to raise the soul from dejection, by the frequent mention of God’s mercies to repentant sinners ; to stir up holy desires, to increase joy, to moderate sorrow, to nourish hope,

<sup>3</sup> Walton says that his living was sequestered, 1644.

<sup>4</sup> Walton’s Life of Sanderson.

and teach us patience by waiting God's leisure; to beget a trust in the mercy, power, and providence of our Creator; and to cause a resignation to His will; and then, and not till then, to believe ourselves happy." "This," he said, "the Liturgy and Psalms taught us: and that by the frequent use of the last, they would not only prove to be our soul's comfort, but would become so habitual, as to transform them into the image of his soul that composed them."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Hackett<sup>2</sup> is recorded as the last man in England who persisted to read the Liturgy after it had been proscribed by Parliament; and the following anecdote is given by his biographer, illustrative both of his attachment to the Church and of his holy courage. One Sunday, while he was reading the Common Prayer in his church, a soldier of the Earl of Essex came and clapped a pistol to his breast, and commanded him to read no farther. The doctor, not at all terrified, replied, "I will do what becomes a divine, and you may do what becomes a soldier." The tumult was quieted for a time, and the doctor permitted to proceed.<sup>3</sup>

The example of Sanderson in deviating a little

<sup>1</sup> Walton's Life of Sanderson.

<sup>2</sup> The biographer of Archbishop Williams, and distinguished for his able speech before Parliament in defence of the Cathedrals.

<sup>3</sup> Not unworthy of being mentioned with this, is the case of the Westminster scholars, who are stated by Dr. South, he being one of them, and present at the time, to have offered up public prayers for King Charles within an hour or two before the time of his being beheaded. Of this disinterested, and in those times dangerous, demonstration of loyalty and charity, South, in his quaint manner, remarks, "that they were not only called, but really were, King's scholars." This, and the anecdote of Hackett, are taken from that excellent little publication, the Penny Sunday Reader, by Dr. Molesworth.



from the Rubric in these times of disturbance and peril, was followed, perhaps unknowingly, by the learned and clear-headed George Bull. "The iniquity of the times," says his biographer, the pious Nelson, "would not bear the constant and regular use of the Liturgy; to supply, therefore, that misfortune, Mr. Bull formed all the devotions he offered up in public, while he continued Minister of this place,<sup>4</sup> out of the Book of Common Prayer, which did not fail to supply him with fit matter and proper words, upon all those occasions that required him to apply to the throne of grace for a supply of the wants of his people." "And his manner of performing the public service was with so much seriousness and devotion, with so much fervour and ardency of affection, and with so powerful an emphasis in every part, that they who were most prejudiced against the Liturgy did not scruple to commend Mr. Bull as a person that prayed by the Spirit, though, at the same time, they railed at the Common Prayer as a beggarly element and a carnal performance." "A particular instance of this happened to him while he was Minister of St. George's. He was sent for to baptize a child of a dissenter in his parish; upon which occasion he made use of the Office of Baptism as prescribed by the Church of England, which he had got entirely by heart; and he went through it with so much readiness and freedom, and yet with so much gravity and devotion, and gave that life and spirit to all that he delivered, that the whole audience was extremely affected with his performance; and notwithstanding that he used the sign of the cross, yet they were so ignorant of the Offices of the

<sup>4</sup> St. George's, near Bristol.

Church that they did not thereby discover that it was the Common Prayer. After he had concluded, the father of the child returned him a great many thanks, intimating, at the same time, with how much greater edification they prayed who entirely depended upon the Spirit of God for His assistance in their extempore effusions, than those did who tied themselves up to premeditated forms; and that if he had not made the sign of the cross—the badge of Popery, as he called it—nobody could have formed the least exception against his excellent prayer. Upon which Mr. Bull, hoping to recover him from his ill-grounded prejudice, showed him the Office of Baptism in the Liturgy, wherein was contained every prayer which he had offered up to God on that occasion; which, with farther argument that he then urged, so effectually wrought upon the good man and his whole family, that they always after that time frequented the parish church, and never more absented themselves from Mr. Bull's communion."<sup>1</sup>

A lively picture of the persecution of those who preserved their attachment to the Prayer Book during the Protectorate is furnished by the private diary of a layman, that zealous promoter of useful knowledge and cultivated taste, the accomplished Evelyn. A few extracts may be sufficient.

In 1654, December 3, he wrote thus: "Advent Sunday. There being no office at the church, but extempore prayers after the Presbyterian way—for now all forms were prohibited, and most of the preachers were usurpers—I seldom went to church upon solemn Feasts, but either went to London, where some of the orthodox sequestered divines

<sup>1</sup> Nelson's Life of Bull, pp. 39, 40.

did privately use the Common Prayer, administer Sacraments, &c., or else I procured one to officiate in my house; wherefore, on the 10th, Dr. Richard Owen, the sequestered Minister of Eltham, preached to my family in my Library, and gave us the Holy Communion."

December 25, Christmas-day. "No public office in churches, but penalties on observers, so as I was constrained to celebrate it at home."

In 1655 (p. 252). "On Sunday afternoon I frequently stayed at home to catechize and instruct my family, these exercises universally ceasing in the parish churches, so as people had no principles, and grew very ignorant of even the common points of Christianity; all devotion being now placed in hearing sermons and discourses of speculative and notional things."

November 27. "This day came forth the Protector's edict or proclamation, prohibiting all Ministers of the Church of England from preaching or teaching any schools;—in which he imitated the apostate Julian; with the decimation of all the royal party's revenues throughout England."

December 25. "There was no more notice taken of Christmas-day in churches. I went to London, where Dr. Wild preached the funeral sermon of preaching, this being the last day; after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach or administer Sacraments, teach schools, &c., on pain of imprisonment or exile. So this was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seen, or the Church of England herself, since the Reformation; to the great rejoicing both of Papist and Presbyterian. So pathetic was his discourse, that it drew many tears from the auditory. Myself,

wife, and some of our family, received the Communion. God made us thankful, who hath hitherto provided for us the food of our souls as well as bodies! The Lord Jesus pity our distressed Church, and bring back the captivity of Zion!"

Again, August 3, 1656. "I went to London to receive the blessed Sacrament, the first time the Church of England was reduced to a chamber and conventicle—so sharp was the persecution. The parish churches were filled with sectaries of all sorts, blasphemous and ignorant mechanics occupying the pulpits everywhere. Dr. Wild preached in a private house, where we had a great meeting of zealous Christians, who were generally made more devout and religious than in our greatest prosperity."

1657, December 25. "I went to London with my wife, to celebrate Christmas-day, Mr. Gunning preaching in Exeter Chapel, on Micah vii. 2. Sermon ended, as he was giving us the Holy Sacrament, the chapel was surrounded with soldiers, and all the communicants and assembly surprised and kept prisoners by them in the house; others carried away, some to the Marshal, some to prison. When I came before them, they took my name and abode, examined me why, contrary to an ordinance made that none should any longer observe the superstitious time of the Nativity (so esteemed by them), I durst offend, and particularly be at Common Prayer, which they told me was but the Mass in English, and particularly pray for Charles Stuart, for which we had no Scripture, &c.; finding no colour to detain me, they dismissed me with much pity of my ignorance. These were men of high flight, and above ordinances, and spake spiteful things of our Lord's Nativity. As we went up to

receive the Sacrament, the miscreants held their musquets against us, as if they would have shot us at the altar, but suffering us to finish the Office of Communion, as, perhaps, not having instructions what to do in case they found us in that action."

Nor was it in England only that the adherents to the Prayer Book were thus molested. Persecution followed them across the Atlantic. "Long before the termination of the seventeenth century, the members of the Church of England in the colonies were greatly exceeded in number by those of other persuasions. Nor was this all. From one denomination they soon experienced a violent and long-continued opposition. At a very early period a few persons withdrew from communion with the Puritans, and assembled separately to worship God according to the Liturgy of the Church. This was too much to be patiently endured by the dominant majority. The leaders of the party (of the Church of England), two brothers named Brown—the first champions of religious liberty in America—were expelled from the colony of Massachusetts, and sent home to England. Heavy fines were inflicted on those who took part in the ceremonies of the Church; severe laws were enacted against the observance of any such day as Christmas, or the like; and, to use the words of an eminent New England jurist, 'an Inquisition existed in substance, with a full share of its terrors and its violence.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Caswall's well-written and pleasing account of the American Church, p. 165.

## CHAPTER VII.

PRAYER BOOK UNDER KING CHARLES THE SECOND—SAVOY CONFERENCE—CONVOCATION—FINAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRAYER BOOK.

THE rigorous and despotic rule of Cromwell maintained some degree of order at home, and made the name and power of England to be respected and feared in foreign countries. After his death (Sept. 3, 1658), however, and the peaceable deposition (April 22, 1659) of his amiable and unambitious, but weak and irresolute son Richard, who held the Protectorate about half a year, the lamentable confusion and distraction, which, for the space of nearly a year, prevailed, from the frequent changes of government, and from the lawless proceedings of the army, induced a great majority of the nation to concur in wishing for the restoration of the Monarchy. Everything being, under Divine Providence, prepared for such an event by the wary and prudent management of General Monk, the two Houses of Lords and Commons began their convention on the 25th of April, 1660, meeting, both together, at St. Margaret's, Westminster, where Dr. Reynolds preached. After Sermon, they went to their several houses, and the Commons chose Sir Harbottle Grimston for their speaker. On the 26th, they ordered a day of solemn thanksgiving to God for raising up General Monk and other blessed instruments in the delivery of this nation from thralldom and misery. When, on the 1st of May, Sir John Granville delivered to the two Houses letters from the King at Breda, en-

closing his declaration, they were received with the warmest expressions of joy and loyalty. Both Houses having drawn up their answers, six Lords and twelve Commoners were appointed to attend his Majesty with them, and to desire his Majesty to make a speedy return to his Parliament and his kingly office. The King was proclaimed on the 8th of May.

The Presbyterians, among whom were many men of great piety and considerable learning, had for some years been superseded in point of influence by the Independents, and they were shocked by the multitude of wild and discordant fanatics who were let loose upon the people, and by the atrocious doctrines and detestable blasphemies, which they uttered with impunity. It appears that, towards the conclusion of the year 1659, several of their ablest preachers, especially in and about London, gave their willing assistance towards the re-establishment of regular government, by so stirring up their congregations to a desire of the King's restoration as did not a little facilitate that happy event.<sup>1</sup>

And now, when the Commissioners from the Parliament and the City went to wait on the King at the Hague, eight or ten of their most influential preachers, among whom were Reynolds, Calamy, Case, and Manton, accompanied them. They entreated to be admitted all together to have a formal audience of his Majesty; where "they presented their duties, and magnified the affections of themselves and their friends, who, they said, had always, according to the obligation of their Covenant, wished his Majesty very well, and had lately, upon the

<sup>1</sup> Nicholls, from Clarendon.

opportunity that God had put into their hands, informed the people of their duties; which, they presumed, his Majesty had heard had proved effectual and been of great use to him." They professed "that they were no enemies to moderate Episcopacy: only desired that such things might not be pressed upon them in God's worship, which in their judgment, who used them, were acknowledged to be matters indifferent, and by others were held unlawful." The King spoke very kindly to them, and said, "That he had heard of their good behaviour towards him; and that he had no purpose to impose hard conditions upon them, with reference to their consciences; that they well knew he had referred the settling of all differences of that nature to the wisdom of the Parliament, which best knew what indulgence and toleration was necessary for the peace and quiet of the kingdom."

They afterwards requested several private audiences, which the King never denied. On one of these occasions they told him, "The Book of Common Prayer had been long discontinued in England; and the people having been disused to it, and many of them having never heard it in their lives, it would be much wondered at if his Majesty should, at his first landing in the kingdom, revive the use of it in his own chapel, whither all persons would resort, and therefore they besought him that he would not use it entirely and formally, but have only some parts of it read, with mixture of other good prayers, which his chaplain might use." The King told them, with some warmth, "That whilst he gave them liberty, he would not have his own taken from him: that he had always used that form of service, which he thought the best in the world, and had never discontinued it in places where



it was more disliked than he hoped it was by them : that when he came into England he would not severely inquire how it was used in other churches, though he doubted not he should find it used in many ; but that he was sure he would have no other used in his own chapel." Then they besought him with more importunity, that the use of the surplice might be discontinued by his chaplains, because the sight of it would give great offence and scandal to the people. They found the King as immoveable in that point as in the other. He told them plainly, " that he would not be restrained himself, when he gave others so much liberty ; that it had been always held a decent habit in the Church, constantly practised in England, till these late ill times ; that it had been still retained by him ; and though he was bound for the present to tolerate much disorder and indecency in the exercise of God's worship, he would never in the least degree, by his own practice, discountenance the good old order of the Church in which he had been bred."<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the firmness of the King on this occasion, the Presbyterians had several circumstances of advantage to support their hopes. Actual possession of the churches in very many places, the favour of no small numbers of the people, the countenance of great men, as the Earl of Manchester and others, and the King's Declaration from Breda, gave this party considerable hopes.<sup>2</sup> The passage in the Declaration from Breda, upon which so much stress was justly laid, is as follows :—

" And because the passion and uncharitableness

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon, book xvi.

<sup>2</sup> Collier, vol. ii. p. 870.

of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed or better understood. We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence."

To mark the sense entertained of the conduct of the Presbyterians, Reynolds, Spurstow, Wallis, Bates, Manton, Calamy, Ash, Baxter, Case, and two or three more, were, soon after the Restoration, made King's Chaplains in Ordinary; though none of them ever preached before his Majesty, excepting Calamy, Reynolds, Baxter, Spurstow, and Woodbridge.<sup>1</sup> Reynolds afterwards became Bishop of Norwich, and the Bishopric of Hereford was offered to Baxter, and that of Lichfield and Coventry to Calamy.<sup>2</sup> Both the latter declined the offer.

The King landed on the pier at Dover on the 25th of May, 1660, and entered London on the 29th, saluted everywhere by the most joyous and unanimous acclamations of his people. His first care, on returning to Whitehall, was to pay his devotions and thanks to God, on that the day of his birth and of his restoration to his kingdom. On the very next day after he took possession of his royal palace, the King published a proclamation

<sup>1</sup> Collier, and Life of Baxter.    <sup>2</sup> Collier, vol. ii. p. 876.

against vicious, debauched, and profane persons. Happy had it been for the peace and honour of this reign, if the example of the Court had confirmed the order of it!"<sup>3</sup>

In the month of October (the 5th) the King issued another remarkable Declaration to all his loving subjects of his kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales, concerning ecclesiastical affairs. In this Declaration the King states what are his intentions respecting toleration, the jurisdiction of Bishops, and several other matters of Ecclesiastical polity. In the seventh head, or section, he proceeds thus: "We are very glad to find, that all with whom we have conferred do in their judgments approve a Liturgy, or set form of public worship, to be lawful; which in our judgment, for the preservation of unity and uniformity, we conceive to be very necessary. And though we do conceive the Liturgy of the Church of England, contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and by law established, to be the best we have seen (and we believe that we have seen all that are extant and used in this part of the world), and well know what reverence most of the Reformed Churches, or at least the most learned men of those Churches, have for it; yet, since we find some exceptions made against several things therein, we will appoint an equal number of learned divines of both persuasions to revise the same, and to make such alterations as shall be thought most necessary," &c. &c.

The Complete History of England, after giving the Declaration at full length, says of it,<sup>4</sup> that it

<sup>3</sup> Complete History of England.      <sup>4</sup> Vol. iii. p. 246.

“has a spirit of truth, wisdom, and charity, above any one public profession that was ever yet made in matters of religion.” Another very accurate writer<sup>1</sup> justly observes: “It must be said, those who penned this instrument carried the prerogative to an extraordinary extent. The Declaration seems not only to reach into the business of Synods, overrules the Canons, and disables the discipline of the Church; but, over and above, dispenses with statutes, to the construction of a repeal, and lies hard upon the civil constitution.” In the Declaration from Breda, the King, more wisely and constitutionally, referred everything to the wisdom of the Legislature.

Now, however, in compliance with the clause of the Declaration of October, above quoted, a Commission was issued by the Crown, dated March 25, 1661, to empower twelve of the Bishops, and twelve of the Presbyterian Divines, to consider of the objections raised against the Liturgy, and to make such reasonable and necessary alterations as they should jointly agree upon; nine assistants on each side being added to supply the place of any of the twelve principals who should happen to be absent. The names of them were,

#### ON THE EPISCOPALIAN SIDE.

Frewen Archbishop of York, Sheldon Bishop of London, Cosin Bishop of Durham, Warner Bishop of Rochester, King Bishop of Chichester, Henchman Bishop of Sarum, Morley Bishop of Winchester, Sanderson Bishop of Lincoln, Laney Bishop of Peterborough, Walton Bishop of Ches-

<sup>1</sup> Collier, vol. ii. p. 876.

ter, Sterne Bishop of Carlisle, Gauden Bishop of Exeter.

*Coadjutors.*

Dr. Earles, Dean of Westminster, Dr. Heylin, Dr. Hackett, Dr. Barwick, Dr. Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Ely, Dr. Pearson, author of the excellent Exposition of the Creed, and afterwards Bishop of Chester, Dr. Pierce, Dr. Sparrow, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, Mr. Thorndike.

ON THE PRESBYTERIAN SIDE.

Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Tuckney, Dr. Conant, Dr. Spurstow, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Manton, Calamy, Baxter, Jackson, Case, Clark, Newcomen.

*Coadjutors.*

Drs. Horton, Jacomb, Bates, Rawlinson, Cooper, the profoundly learned Lightfoot, who had been a member of the Assembly of Divines, Dr. Collins, Dr. Woodbridge, Drake.

The Commissioners appear to have been well chosen, most of the ablest men of the two parties being named. They were directed "to advise upon and review the Book of Common Prayer, comparing the same with the most ancient Liturgies which have been used in the Church in the primitive and present times, and to take into their serious and grave consideration the several directions and rules, forms of prayer, and things in the said Book of Common Prayer contained; and to advise, consult upon and about the same, and the several objections and exceptions which shall now be raised against the same; and (if occasion be) to make such reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections, and

amendments, as shall be agreed upon to be needful and expedient, for the giving satisfaction to tender consciences, and the restoring and continuance of peace and unity in the Churches under his Majesty's protection and government; but avoiding (as much as may be) all unnecessary abbreviations of the forms and Liturgy, wherewith the people are altogether acquainted, and have so long received in the Church of England."<sup>1</sup>

The place of meeting was the Savoy, in the lodgings of Dr. Sheldon, Master of the Savoy, and Bishop of London. When they first met, the Bishop of London opened the meeting by telling the Presbyterian Ministers, "That they, and not the Bishops, had requested the Conference for making alterations in the Liturgy: and therefore he proposed that they should bring in all their objections against the Liturgy in writing, and all the additional forms and alterations which they thought proper to be made in it." This method the Presbyterian Divines had before declined, when it had been offered by the King, and again by the Lord Chancellor, excusing themselves by saying, "They were but few, and had no commission from their brethren to express their minds; and therefore begged leave to acquaint their brethren in the country, that they might know their sense."<sup>2</sup> And when the King again pressed them for their proposals, they declared, "That they could not pretend to speak for or oblige others; and that therefore what they did must signify but the minds of so many men as were present." On the present

<sup>1</sup> Complete History of England, and Collier. By the latter the Patent appointing the Commission is given at length.

<sup>2</sup> Complete History of England, vol. iii. p. 253.

occasion, the Presbyterians wished that the debate should be by amicable verbal conference, according to the intent, "as they presumed, of the Commission, and as being more likely to contribute to the object of their meeting; whereas writing would be a tedious business, and prevent that familiarity and acquaintance with each other's minds which would best facilitate peace and concord." But the Bishop of London prudently insisted on the safer and more certain way of bringing in all their exceptions, alterations, and additions, in one view, in writing, to which they should receive distinct answers, also in writing. After some debate it was agreed that they should bring all their exceptions at one time, and all their additions at another time.

The exceptions were, accordingly, drawn up by Bp. Reynolds, Bates, Calamy, Newcomen, &c., and presented to the Bishops under this title, "The Exceptions of the Presbyterian Brethren against some passages in the present Liturgy, dated August 30, 1661." The exceptions were eighteen in number. It may here be convenient to give, shortly, the substance of each Exception, together with that of the Reply, that was made to it.

1. In the first place the Presbyterians prayed, "That the Liturgy might not be clogged with any thing that was doubtful, or questioned among pious, learned, and orthodox persons; since the imposing things of doubtful disputation as terms of communion had, in all ages, been the ground of schism and separation."

The Episcopalians replied, "That the passages complained of in the Liturgy ought to be evidently proved unlawful, before any alterations can be demanded. That it is no argument to say, a great many pious persons scruple the use of it, unless it

can be clearly made out that the Liturgy has given just ground for such scruples. For if the bare presence of scruples is a sufficient plea to discharge us from obedience, all law and order can signify nothing. To this they add, that if the Liturgy should be altered as required by the Presbyterians, the generality of the soberest and best members of the Church of England would have just cause of disgust. With regard to the proposal, that prayers may consist of nothing doubtful, or questioned by pious, learned, and orthodox persons, the Episcopalians replied, that, since it is not defined and ascertained who those orthodox persons are, they must either take all those for orthodox persons who have the assurance to call themselves such; and if so, the demand is unreasonable: but if by orthodox, are meant only those who adhere to Scripture and the Catholic consent of antiquity, they are not of opinion that any part of the Liturgy has been objected to by such."

2. Secondly, the Presbyterians urged, "That as the English Reformers, out of their great wisdom, formed the Liturgy in such manner as was most likely to gain upon the Papists, by varying as little as might be from the offices anciently received; so, according to the same rule of prudence and charity, they desired the Liturgy might be so composed as might best reconcile it to those Protestants who are agreed in the substantial points of religion."

To this it was answered, "That as the Romanists never charged our Liturgy with any positive errors, but only with the want of something they conceived necessary; so was it never found fault with by those properly distinguished by the name of Protestants: that is, those of the Augustan Con-



fession; and as for others, who have brought the Church Service into dislike with some people, this practice of theirs has been their fault and their sin."

3. The Presbyterians wished to omit the repetitions and responses of the parish-clerk and people and the alternate reading of the psalms and hymns. They pretended this custom raised a confused noise in the congregation, and made what was read less easy to be understood.

4. For similar reasons they would have the divided prayers of the Litany thrown into one solemn prayer, to be pronounced by the Ministers.

The Episcopalians contended, in reply, "That the practice of responses tended to edification, by quickening, keeping up, and uniting our devotion, which is apt to sleep or grow languid in a long-continued prayer. For this purpose, alternate reading, repetitions, and responses, are far more serviceable than a long tedious prayer. Nor is this our opinion only, but the judgment of former ages, as appears by the practice of the Jewish and ancient Christian Churches."

5. In answer to the request, "That nothing might remain in the Liturgy which seems to countenance the keeping of Lent as a religious fast," the Bishops replied, "This is requested as an expedient for peace, and is, in effect, to desire our Church may show herself contentious for the sake of peace, and divide from the Catholic Church, that we may correspond the closer at home, and live at unity among ourselves. But St. Paul reckons those contentious who oppose the custom of the Churches of God. Now, that the religious observation of Lent was a custom of the Churches of God, appears by the testimonies of the Fathers."

6. With regard to the sixth proposal, "That the religious observation of Saints' Days, together with their Vigils, may be laid aside; and that, if any of them are continued, they may be called Festivals, and not holydays," it is answered, "The observing of Saints' Days is not enjoined as of Divine, but of Ecclesiastical institution: that therefore it is not necessary they should have any particular appointment in Scripture; their being useful for promoting piety, and serviceable to the general end recommended in Holy Writ, is sufficient for this purpose. That the observation of these solemnities was a primitive custom appears by the ancient Rituals and Liturgies, and by the consentient testimony of antiquity. Our Saviour Himself kept the Feast of the Dedication, which was a solemnity of the Church's institution."

7. The Presbyterians said, that "The gift of prayer being one special qualification for the ministry, they desire the Liturgy may not be so strictly imposed, as totally to exclude the exercise of that faculty in any part of public worship: and that, in consequence of this, it may be left to the discretion of the Minister to omit part of the stated service, as occasion shall require." And this liberty, they pretend, was allowed by the first Common Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth.

The Episcopalians replied, "Their proposal touching the gift of prayer makes the Liturgy in effect wholly insignificant. For what else can be the consequence, if every Minister may put in and leave out at discretion? As for the gift, or rather the spirit, of prayer, it consists in the inward graces of the Holy Spirit, and not in extemporary expressions: such unpremeditated effusions are only the effect of natural parts, of a voluble tongue, and

uncommon assurance. But if there really is any such gift as is pretended, this extraordinary qualification must be subject to the order of the Church."<sup>1</sup>

8. The request that the passages of Scripture in the Liturgy might be taken from the new translation of the Scriptures instead of the old, was acceded to by the Episcopalians, with the exception of the Psalms.

9. In answer to the objection to reading in the Church Lessons from the Apocrypha, the Episcopalians observe, "The Presbyterians demand an alteration upon such grounds as would exclude all sermons as well as the Apocrypha. Their argument is, the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary with reference both to belief and practice. If the inspired writings are so comprehensive, to what purpose are there so many unnecessary sermons? why have we any thing more than the reading of Holy Scripture? But if, notwithstanding the sufficiency of the Old and New Testament, sermons are necessary, there is no reason why these Apocryphal chapters should not be reckoned equally useful; for most of them deliver excellent discourses and precepts of morality; and it is much to be wished the sermons of these Ministers were no worse. If they are afraid that these books may, by this regard, come up to an equal authority with the Canon, the Church has secured them against this apprehension, by calling them Apocryphal. Now, it is the Church's testimony which teaches us to make this distinction. And, lastly, to leave out these Apocryphal Lessons were to cross the practice of former ages."

10. "That the Minister should not read the Communion Service at the Communion Table is not reasonable to demand, since it was the practice of all the primitive Church; and if we do not govern ourselves by that golden rule of the Council of Nice, 'Let ancient customs be continued,' unless reason plainly requires the contrary, we shall give offence to sober Christians by a causeless departure from Catholic usage, and put a greater advantage in the hands of our Romanist adversaries than, it is to be hoped, our brethren the Dissenters would willingly allow."

11. To the eleventh exception they reply, "That it is not reasonable the word Minister should alone be used in the Common Prayer; for since some parts of the Liturgy may be performed by a Deacon, and others, such as Absolution and Consecration, by a Priest, it is fit some such words as Priest should be used for those offices which are appropriated to his character. The word Curate likewise (which was objected to) signified those who are entrusted by the Bishop with the cure of souls, and therefore was very fit to be used. Sunday being a very ancient distinction of the day on which our Saviour rose from the dead, there is no reason why that name should be disused."

12. In reply to a request for an improved metrical version of the Psalms, the Episcopalians answer, that "singing of Psalms in metre is no part of the Liturgy, and, by consequence, is no part of our commission."

13. The request that all obsolete terms may be altered to words of common use has already been, in great measure, disposed of, by consenting to adopt the last translation of the Scriptures.

14. The request that no portion of the Old

Testament, or of the Acts of the Apostles, should be called Epistles, was acceded to.

15. The Presbyterians desired, "That the phrases in several Offices which presume all persons within the communion of the Church to be regenerated, converted, and in actual state of grace, may be reformed; for, considering the want of ecclesiastical discipline, confessed in the Communion, such a supposition is more than the utmost charity can suppose."

In answer to this, the Episcopalians allege, "That the Church's phrase in her prayers is no more offensive than St. Paul's. This Apostle, in his Epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians, and others, calls them in general the Churches of God, sanctified in Christ Jesus, and Saints by vocation. And yet, amongst these, there were many who, upon the score of their open irregularities, could not properly be styled such."

16. The Presbyterians wished "That the petitions in the prayers might have a more orderly connexion, and the forms carried on to a more competent length; that this method would be more to edification, and gain farther upon the people's esteem."

Under this head they are somewhat more particular:

And first, "They charge the Collects with being generally too short, many of them consisting of one, or at most but of two sentences of Petition. That they are generally prefaced with a repeated mention of the name and attributes of God, and presently conclude with the name and merits of Christ; that by this disposition of the service many unnecessary breaks are occasioned; and that when many petitions are to be offered at the same time,

these interruptions are neither agreeable to Scriptural examples, nor suited to the gravity of that holy duty."

Secondly, They object, "That the Prefaces of many of the Collects have no clear and direct reference to the following petitions: That the petitions are put together without due order or natural connexion, &c. &c. It is therefore desired, that instead of those discontinued Collects, there may be one methodical and entire form of prayer composed out of many of them."

The Church Commissioners replied, that, "As to the connexion of the parts of the Liturgy, it is conformable to the example of the Churches of God, and has as much connexion as usually occurs in many petitions of the same Psalm."

"The Collects, by their brevity, are best suited to devotion, and resemble those short but prevalent prayers in Scripture, 'Lord be merciful to me a sinner.' 'Son of David, have mercy on us.' 'Lord, increase our faith.'"

After this, proceeding to the remainder of the objection, they subjoin, "We cannot imagine why the repeated mention of the Name and attributes of God should not be most acceptable to any person religiously disposed; or how this repetition should seem any burthen, since David magnified one attribute of God's mercy six-and-twenty times together (Psalm 136). Nor can we conceive why the Name and merits of Jesus should be less comfortable to us, than to former Saints and Martyrs: and since the hopes of obtaining our petitions are founded upon the attributes of God, such prefaces of prayers as are taken from the Divine perfections are not to be censured as unsuitable, though they should have no special reference to the following petitions."

17. In the next place, the Presbyterians complained that the Liturgy is defective in the following instances :

(1.) "That there is no preparatory prayer in the beginning of the Service, for God's assistance and acceptance; and yet many Collects in the middle of the Service have little or nothing else."

(2.) "The Confession," as these Ministers continue, "is very defective. Original sin is not clearly expressed, nor the number of actual sins, with their aggravations, sufficiently enlarged on: the form goes too much upon generals."

(3.) They complain of a great defect in the forms of public Thanksgiving. And,

(4.) They object that the whole body of Common Prayer is too much wrapped in generals; as, to be kept from all evil, from all enemies, from all adversity, that we may do God's will, &c. &c., without dilating upon particulars.

(5.) They pretend that the Catechism is defective in many necessary doctrines, and that some of the essentials of Christianity are not mentioned, except in the Creed.

The Episcopalians replied, "That whereas it was objected that there was no preparatory prayer in our Liturgy for God's assistance and acceptance, this they answer is a plain misreporting the Common Prayer. For besides a preparatory Exhortation, there are several prayers upon the heads in which it is pretended they are deficient. The instances are these: "Despise not, O Lord, humble and contrite hearts; That those things may please Him which we do at this present; O Lord, open thou our lips, &c. &c."

As to the objection, "that the Confession is couched in too general terms," the Episcopal

divines answer, "That this is rather a perfection than a disadvantage; that the offices are intended for common use; that general services would cease to be such by descending to particulars. When confession of sins is general, all persons may and must join in it, because in many things we offend all. But if the enumeration of sins was particular, it would not be so well suited to the use of the congregation; for it may well be supposed to happen, that some persons may, by God's grace, have been preserved from several of the sins recited; and therefore by confessing themselves guilty, they would lie to God Almighty, and thus stand in need of a new confession. As for original sin, they conceive it sufficiently acknowledged in the Church's confessing, that without God's help our frailty cannot but fall; and that our mortal nature can do no good thing without Him."

As for the complaint, that the Liturgy goes too much upon generals, for instance, that we may do God's will, that we may be kept from evil, &c. &c., the Church Commissioners reply, that these are almost the very terms in the Lord's Prayer; so that they must reform that, before they can pretend to mend our Liturgy in these particulars.

18. The principal demand of the Presbyterians was, that the directions, which impose any ceremonies, especially the surplice, the sign of the cross, and kneeling at the Lord's Supper, might be abrogated.

In answer to the general principles on which this demand was grounded, the Church Commissioners reply, "That God has not only given a power, but likewise commanded the imposing whatever shall be truly decent and becoming His public service. That after St. Paul had laid down some



particular rules for praying, thanksgiving, prophesying, &c., he concludes with this general precept, Let all things be done *εὐσχημόνως*, in a decent manner; and that there may be uniformity in these circumstances of decency, the Apostle adds, Let there be a *τάξις*, a rule or canon for that purpose.”<sup>1</sup> They add, that “Superiors, not inferiors, must be judges of what is decent and convenient: those who have authority to order that every thing be done decently, must of necessity first judge what does or does not fall under that description.

After several judicious observations, the Episcopalians proceed: “Whereas the Nonconformists plead that they cannot obey the commands of the Church for fear of violating the precept which forbids adding to the word of God (Deut. xii. 32), we answer, those ministers do not well consider, that it is no addition to the word of God to command things for order and decency, provided they are enjoined only as regulations of human authority. And supposing some persons continue perplexed and under scruples, the Church may, notwithstanding, without sin, insist upon compliance with decent ceremonies; and all this without being guilty of offending our weak brother; for here the scandal is taken, and not given. It is the prejudice and mistake of the scrupulous person that disturbs himself.”

“Neither will the case of St. Paul’s not eating flesh, if it offended his weak brother, give any support to the objection. For here it must be observed, the Apostle speaks of things not commanded by God, or His Church; of matters which had nothing of decency or significancy for religious purposes.

And therefore, in a case thus unconnected with Divine Worship, St. Paul was willing to resign his liberty, rather than offend his brother. But if any man should venture to break a just law or custom of the Church, the Apostle marks him for a contentious person (1 Cor. xi. 16)."

"That these ceremonies have occasioned many divisions, as it is pretended, is no more their fault, than the misunderstandings between the nearest relations, accidentally consequent upon the preaching of the Gospel (Luke xii. 52), can be fairly charged on the Christian religion."

They justify the use of the surplice by alleging, "That both reason and experience may inform us that decency and propriety in ornament and habit strike the senses, and excite respect and regard: with this view particular habits are adopted in the equipage of princes, and in courts of justice. And why should the service of God be refused this advantage? With respect to the surplice, no habit is more suitable at holy administrations than white linen: it is the emblem of purity. That this habit was anciently used in the Church we may learn from St. Chrysostom."

"The sign of the cross," continued the Episcopal divines, "was always used *in immortali lavacro*,—in the Sacrament of Baptism. We continue to use it to testify our communion with the Saints of former ages, and to signify that we are not ashamed of the Cross of Christ."

As to the posture of kneeling, they argue "That it best becomes the solemnity of the Holy Eucharist, since the most valuable blessings ought to be received with the greatest marks of reverence and submission."

The Church Commissioners conclude their ge-

neral answer with observing, that "there were ancient Liturgies in the Church, as appears plainly from St. Chrysostom's, St. Basil's, and others;" "and the Greeks," say they, "mention St. James's, much older than the rest. And though we cannot trace entire Liturgies through all the centuries of Christianity, yet that there were such in the earliest ages may certainly be concluded from the fragments remaining, many of which have been adopted into our Liturgy."

With respect to the more particular exceptions made by the Presbyterians, they wished in the Litany the words, 'from all other deadly sin,' to be altered to 'from all other heinous sin;' and the words, 'from sudden death,' to be changed to 'unprepared dying suddenly.' They objected to the Church's praying for all that travel, because many, as thieves and pirates, travel for bad purposes, and wished the expression to be 'those that travel.' In the office for Visitation of the Sick, they objected to the form of Absolution, and pressed for declarative or conditional expressions, as, 'I pronounce thee absolved if thou dost truly repent and believe.' In the Office for the Churching of Women, they would have the prayer and response omitted, 'O Lord, save this woman thy servant; (Response) Which putteth her trust in thee;' because it may happen a woman may come to give thanks for a child born in adultery or fornication. To this the Episcopal divines replied, that, in such cases, she is to do penance before she is churched.

Besides the exceptions already mentioned, additions to the Liturgy were proposed; and Baxter, to whom the work was committed by his colleagues, drew up an absolute form of his own, and styled it The Reformed Liturgy, "as if he had the modesty

*Baxter*

to think," says a very important writer, "that the old Liturgy, compiled by a number of very learned confessors and martyrs, must now give place to a new form composed by a single man."<sup>1</sup> As the Commission merely authorized a review of the Common Prayer, comparing the same with the ancient Liturgies, and to make reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections, and amendments, this attempt of Baxter to substitute an entirely new Liturgy of his own composing was certainly not a little presumptuous, and was little likely to draw concession from those to whom he was opposed.

Baxter had been regularly ordained by Thornborough, Bishop of Worcester. At that time he had satisfied himself that conformity was lawful,<sup>2</sup> and he accordingly professed his adherence to the Liturgy. Subsequently, however, he found cause to change his opinion. He was a man of ardent piety, of much self-denial, of unwearied zeal and activity in his ministerial labours, and was gifted with a forcible popular eloquence. Perhaps no man in this country, up to the days of John Wesley, was ever instrumental in bringing so many persons to a deep sense of practical religion. This he effected by his preaching, by his private pastoral ministrations, and, above all, by his numerous practical writings. He was not, perhaps, exempt from that confidence in his own powers, and in his own opinions, from that love of ascendancy—of being the head of a party—which has formed a feature in the character of so many distinguished men;—for instance, in the character of Calvin, about a

<sup>1</sup> Complete History of England, vol. iii. p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> Life of Baxter.

century before, and in that of Wesley<sup>3</sup> about a century after him. The account which Baxter gives of the increasing moderation of his sentiments in his later years, and of his greater readiness to make allowances for the opinions of other men when they differ from his own, is very pleasing.<sup>4</sup>

Baxter's presumption, however, on the present occasion, and the disposition of his colleagues to cavil and find fault with things of minor importance, probably rendered the Episcopalians the less inclined to give way, and to consent to some verbal alterations which might have been really desirable.

About ten days before the Commission expired—(it was to continue in force four calendar months)—the Nonconformists desired a personal conference with the Bishops, upon the subject of the papers exchanged. The Bishops, with some degree of reluctance, consented. Three of each party were appointed to manage the dispute, the Bishops choosing Drs. Pearson, Gunning, and Sparrow, and the Presbyterians selected Bates, Jacomb, and Baxter. When they met, the conference, through want of order, frequent interruptions, and personal reflections, turned to no account.

At the close of the last day it was mutually agreed, that the report of the conference should be delivered to the King in writing; and that each party should give in this general account, "That the Church's welfare, that unity and peace, and his Majesty's satisfaction, were ends upon which they

<sup>3</sup> The ascendancy acquired by Wesley was certainly employed by him for the purpose of widely spreading the knowledge and the influence of the Christian Religion.

<sup>4</sup> Life of Baxter, and that very useful book, Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography.

were all agreed ; but as to the means, they could not come to any harmony."<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps this result, however it may be lamented, is not to be wondered at, when both parties, from the temper and circumstances of the times, were little disposed to make concessions. The Episcopalians, who had recently suffered so much in consequence of their attachment to the Liturgy, not unnaturally felt that attachment increased—even to its blemishes, if blemishes it had,—and could not brook to have laws prescribed to them by that party, which they regarded as the primary cause of all their sufferings. The Presbyterians, who for some time had been the dominant party, felt, in point of honour, pledged to their avowed opinions, and relied upon the encouragement which they had received from the King, upon the assurances of some leading Members of Parliament, and upon the interest which they believed themselves to have with large numbers of the people. Some alterations, however, were assented to by the Episcopalians, which were afterwards adopted by the Convocation, and established by Act of Parliament.<sup>2</sup>

Before taking leave of the subject, it may be well to mention those Church Commissioners who had the greatest share in the debate. Henchman, then Bishop of Salisbury and afterwards of Lon-

<sup>1</sup> Collier (vol. ii. p. 886), from whom this account of the Savoy Conference is abridged. Collier's account is taken from Papers that passed between the Commissioners at the Savoy Conference.

<sup>2</sup> For some very sensible and impartial observations upon the Savoy Conference, the last Review of the Prayer Book, and its consequences, see the "Sketch of the History of the Church of England by Dr. Short;" a book well deserving the attention of all members of the Church of England, both lay and clerical.

don, is reported as having shown that he was well acquainted with the Fathers and Councils; he discoursed with great temper, but was strongly against large abatements and schemes of comprehension. This Prelate, together with Sheldon and Morley, is said to have had the chief management of this affair. Dr. Pearson, afterwards Bishop of Chester, disputed with great exactness. The Ministers on the other side had a particular regard for him, and believed that if this divine had been an umpire in the controversy, his concessions would have gone a great way: and to mention only one more, Dr. Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Ely, had a principal part in the debate: he had a ready pronunciation, and argued with great learning and vigour. His regard for the practice of antiquity made him adhere strictly to the ceremonies and constitution of the Church: and he thought it by no means reasonable to give up usages and regulations so primitively settled and supported.<sup>3</sup>

The Convocation met on the 8th of May, 1661. They adopted most of the alterations to which the Episcopalian Commissioners had agreed, made some farther concessions to the Presbyterians, and introduced a few other changes and additions. On the 20th of September, the Prayer Book, having passed both Houses of Convocation, was subscribed by the Bishops and Clergy, and received the civil sanction of the Parliament. The Royal Assent was given May 16, 1662.

Of the alterations and additions adopted by the Convocation, the following are the most considerable.

The order for reading the Psalms was simplified and improved. The version of the Psalms, how-

<sup>3</sup> Collier, p. 885.

ever, given in the Great Bible, was still retained. By the Great Bible is understood the translation made by Tyndal and Coverdale, and revised by Archbishop Cranmer, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, in contradistinction both to the Bishops' Bible, published in the reign of Elizabeth under the superintendence of Archbishop Parker, and to the translation now used in our Church. This translation was retained in the Prayer Book, partly, probably, because it was most familiarly known to the people:—the reason which induced the Church of Rome, when it gave doctrinal authority to the Vulgate, still to retain the Old Italic version in its Breviary and Missal<sup>1</sup>;—and partly because the old translation was, in this instance, thought preferable to the new. Coverdale's translation (for neither Tyndal nor Rogers had any share in translating the Psalms), being unfettered with the idiom of the Hebrew, is expressed with greater freedom, and with more regard to the genius of our language, than the new. The old translation is certainly most harmonious in its periods, and excellently adapted for public worship.<sup>2</sup>

But to return to the last Review of the Prayer Book. Some directions respecting certain of the Lessons were omitted, typographical errors in this part of the book were rectified, and Lessons were added for the 29th of February. Until this Review, the Sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution, had never been printed<sup>3</sup> before the

<sup>1</sup> Hartwell Horne on the Scriptures.

<sup>2</sup> Shepherd's *Elucidation of the Morning and Evening Prayer*. He strongly expresses his regret, that the pointing of the Psalms as they are to be sung or chanted is retained in all our Common-Prayer Books.

<sup>3</sup> Shepherd adds, "though they were intended to be said." I know not the authority on which this assertion is made.



Lord's Prayer in the beginning of the Evening Service. Indeed, the order seems to have been ambiguous. The Rubrics were, "An Order for Evening Service throughout the year. The Priest shall say, Our Father," &c. The absolution was directed to be read by the Priest standing. The Gloria Patri was expressly ordered after every division of the 119th Psalm. The words 'rebellion and schism,' sins from which the Church had recently suffered so severely, were inserted in the last deprecation in the Litany; in which Office likewise Bishops, Pastors, and Ministers, were changed into Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. The Collects for the Ember Weeks, the Prayer for the High Court of Parliament, the excellent and comprehensive Prayer for All Sorts and Conditions of Men, and the General Thanksgiving,<sup>4</sup> were all composed at this time. In excuse for the words 'most religious and gracious King,' applied in the Prayer for the Parliament, to a King, who subsequently proved to be one of the most selfish, sensual, and unprincipled Monarchs that ever swayed the sceptre of this kingdom, it should be remembered that Charles's character had not yet developed itself. His previous misfortunes, as well as

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Lothbury, in his "History of the Convocation," p. 255, says, "The Prayer (for the Parliament) had been in use for years, though it had not been incorporated in the Liturgy. It was first used in an occasional form in the year 1625; and in this prayer the words (*most religious and gracious King*) are found.

"A form of General Thanksgiving was prepared and presented to the Convocation by the Bishop of Norwich. It is frequently stated, that the General Thanksgiving was composed by Sanderson; but it is clear, from the proceedings of the Upper House, that it was prepared by Bishop Reynolds." See Mr. Lothbury's History of the Convocation of the Church of England.

the calamitous state from which the country was just restored, his strong professions of attachment to religion, the excellent tone and spirit of his declarations on the subject of religion, and, perhaps, it must be added, the fascination of his personal demeanour, all concurred, when he returned to this country, to dispose his subjects to see his character in the most favourable point of view.

With regard to other alterations, it may be observed, that the Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings, which had hitherto formed a part of the Litany, were now disjoined from it. A Collect was appointed for Easter Eve, on which day that for the preceding Sunday had hitherto been used; and a Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, for the sixth Sunday after the Epiphany, on which day those for the fifth were before ordered to be repeated. A new (certainly a very excellent) Collect was likewise composed for the third Sunday in Advent;—and this is perhaps a proper place for observing, that considerable improvements were made in several other Collects. An appropriate Epistle was allotted to the Festival of the Purification, on which the Epistle for the Sunday preceding had formerly been used. Instead of calling by the name of Epistle a portion of the Old Testament, or of the Acts of the Apostles, read in the place of the Epistle, it was ordered that the Minister should say, “The portion of Scripture appointed for the Epistle.” The Epistles and Gospels in the Communion Office, as well as the Lessons in the Daily Prayer, were taken from the New Translation of the Bible. These alterations just mentioned were in accordance with the wish of the Presbyterian Commissioners. The two previous Exhortations to the Lord’s Supper were altered

and ordered to be read on the Sunday, or Holy-day, preceding the day of the celebration of the Communion, and not at the time when the people were actually assembled to receive it. In the prayer for the "Church militant here on earth" a Thanksgiving was inserted—"we also bless thy holy Name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear"—to make the latter part correspond with these introductory words, "and to give thanks for all men." This addition also gave the Prayer a nearer resemblance to that in the first Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth. At the reading of the Gospel, and at the recitation of the Nicene Creed, the people were ordered to stand, no directions about the posture having been given in the old Books. At the Consecration of the Bread and Wine, marginal rubrics were added to direct the Minister, as had originally been done in Edward's Liturgy, but not in the later books; and provision was made for consecrating more bread and wine, should more of either be wanted. Some new rubrical directions were placed at the end of the Communion and in many of the Offices; whilst others, that were thought no longer necessary, were omitted.

In the Office of Public Baptism of Infants was added the interrogation, "Wilt thou keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of thy life?" together with the answer; and in the Collect preceding the act of baptizing the child, the words, "sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin," were inserted; an addition suggested probably by King Edward's first Liturgy. A new Office of Baptism for those of Riper Years was composed; an Office rendered peculiarly necessary by the late distractions, and by the number of the persons who, in consequence

of those distractions, and of the spreading of opinions hostile to Infant Baptism, were found to be unbaptized.

The two Psalms, which we now have, were prefixed to the Lesson in the Burial Service. In Edward's first book, the 116th, 139th, and 146th, were appointed. These were omitted in the second book, and no others substituted till the Review of the Liturgy in 1661. The Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea, and the Form of Prayer for the 30th of January, and that for the 29th of May, were likewise added. Several other alterations were made, but principally of a nature so minute as not to require enumeration.<sup>1</sup>

It does not appear to be certainly known, which of the pious and learned divines of the time had the principal share in making these alterations, and particularly in composing, or compiling the new Prayers and Offices which were now sanctioned by authority. It seems to be acknowledged, that the forcibly-written Preface, "It has been the wisdom of the Church," &c., was from the pen of the judicious Sanderson; and his biographer<sup>2</sup> intimates the probability that the new prayers were in great measure written by him. The additions and alterations now made generally bear the impress of sound judgment and of fervent piety.

Thus was the Prayer Book re-established, having been so constructed as to give—at least in its Ordinary Service—no just ground of offence either to the Romanist or to the orthodox Dissenter, both of whom may join in its worship with edifica-

<sup>1</sup> Much of this account of the alterations made at the last Review of the Prayer Book is taken from Shepherd's very useful "Elucidation of the Common Prayer."

<sup>2</sup> Walton's Life of Sanderson.

tion and advantage. Both may perhaps think that they find cause to object to its ritual. In the completeness which it now received it has continued ever since to be the instructor, the guide, and the consolation of all true and faithful sons of the Church of England; and the most unlearned man, who pays due attention to the Prayer Book, will find in it, drawn from the Holy Scriptures, all that is essentially necessary to salvation, "all that a Christian ought to know and believe for his soul's health." If, after humble petition for the aid of the Spirit of grace and supplication, he joins in the prayers of the Church with seriousness and devotion, with the spirit and the understanding, he will learn to love and delight in "the pleasures of the temple, the order of her services, the beauty of her buildings, the sweetness of her songs, the decency of her ministrations."<sup>3</sup> He will from his heart adopt the encomium pronounced upon the Liturgy by one of its most eloquent commentators,<sup>4</sup> and say that it "is so judiciously contrived, that the wisest may exercise at once their knowledge and devotion; and yet so plain, that the most ignorant may pray with understanding; so full, that nothing is omitted which is fit to be asked in public; and so particular, that it compriseth most things which we would ask in private; and yet so short as not to tire any that hath true devotion. Its doctrine is pure and primitive; its ceremonies so few and innocent, that most of the Christian world agree in them."

<sup>3</sup> Bishop Taylor.<sup>4</sup> Comber.



## APPENDIX.

### SOME ACCOUNT OF THE DIRECTORY.

THE "Directory for the Publique Worship of God" gives general directions for the order in which public worship shall be celebrated, and for the manner in which the sacraments and religious rites shall be administered; but, in both instances, leaves all the detail to the discretion of the officiating Minister. The Minister is to begin the Public Service with prayer, "in all reverence and humility, acknowledging the incomprehensible greatness and majesty of the Lord, and their own villenness and unworthiness to approach so near him," &c. &c. This is to be followed by publique reading of the Holy Scriptures. "How large a portion shall be read at once is left to the wisdom of the Minister, but it is convenient that, ordinarily, one Chapter of each Testament be read at every meeting; and sometimes more, where the Chapter be short, or the coherence of matter requireth it."

"When the Minister, who readeth, shall judge it necessary to expound any part of what is read, let it not be done until the whole Chapter or Psalm be ended: and regard is always to be had unto the time, that neither Preaching or other Ordinance be straitened or rendered tedious. Which rule

is to be observed in all other publike performances." "After reading of the Word (and singing of the Psalme)," next follow very long and particular directions for the Prayer before sermon, still leaving much to the discretion of the Minister.

The directions for "the preaching of the Word, being the power of God unto salvation," contain much sound and judicious advice, well deserving attention.

In the prayer after the sermon, the Minister is to give thanks unto God "for the blessings of the Gospel—to turn the chief and most useful heads of the sermon into some few petitions; and to pray that it may abide in the heart, and bring forth fruit."

"And because the prayer which Christ taught his Disciples, is not only a pattern of prayer, but itself a most comprehensive prayer, we recommend it also to be used in the prayers of the Church."

"The prayer ended, let a Psalm be sung, if with convenience it may be done. After which—let the Minister dismiss the congregation, with a solemn blessing."

"Baptisme—is not to be administered in any case by any private person; but by a minister of Christ," &c. &c.

"Nor is it to be administered in private places, or privately, but in the place of Publike Worship, and in the face of the congregation where people may most conveniently see and hear; and not in the places where fonts in the time of Popery were unfitly and superstitiously placed." "The childe is to be presented by the father, or (in case of his necessary absence) by some Christian friend in his place, professing his earnest desire that the childe may be baptized."

"Before Baptisme the Minister is to use some



words of instruction touching the institution, nature, use, and end of the Sacrament, but is to use his own libertie and godly wisdom, as the ignorance or errorrs"—“and the edification of the people shall require.” “He is also to admonish all that are present to look back to their Baptisme,” &c. &c. “He is to exhort the parent to consider the great mercy of God to him and his childe: to bring up the childe in the nurture and admonition of the Lord,” &c. Prayer is to follow “for sanctifying the water to this spiritual use,” &c.

“As he pronounceth these words,” (I baptize thee, &c.) “he is to baptize the childe with water: which for the manner of doing, is not only lawfull, but sufficient and most expedient to be, by pouring or sprinkling of the water on the face of the childe, without adding any other ceremony.”

“This done, he is to give thanks, and pray”—the general purport of such thanksgiving and prayer being added.

The directions for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, with the exhortations and prayers, bear in substance considerable resemblance to the Office in the Prayer Book, only here, as in the other services, the choice of words is left entirely to the officiating Minister; who, in the actual administering of the bread, is to break it, and give it to the communicants, saying, “Take ye, eat ye, This is the body of Christ which is broken for you, do this in remembrance of Him.” And so, with respect to the cup.

The instructions for “The sanctification of the Lord's Day,” which follow next, direct that “The whole day is to be celebrated as holy to the Lord, both in publique and private, as being the Christian Sabbath. To which end it is requisite, that there

be a holy cessation, or resting all the day, from all unnecessary labours, and an abstaining, not only from all sports and pastimes, but also from all worldly words and thoughts."

With respect to Marriage, the Assembly of Divines observes, "Although Marriage be no Sacrament, nor peculiar to the Church of God, but common to mankinde, and of publike interest in every Commonwealth, yet because such as marry are to marry in the Lord, and have speciall need of instruction, direction, and exhortation, from the Word of God, at their entering into such a new condition; and of the blessing of God upon them therein; we judge it expedient, that Marriage be solemnized by a lawful Minister of the Word, that he may accordingly counsell them, and pray for a blessing upon them." Many of the following directions for the form of solemnization of marriage bear considerable resemblance to those in the Office in the Prayer Book.

The directions for the "Visitation of the Sick," which are good and sensible, bear a still closer resemblance to those of our Church.

"The Buriall of the Dead" is directed to be unaccompanied by any religious service. "When any person departed this life, let the dead body, upon the day of Buriall, be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for publique Buriall, and there immediately interred, without any ceremony." At the conclusion a clause is added, "That this shall not extend to deny any civill respects or differences at the Buriall, suitable to the rank and condition of the party deceased whiles he was living."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cromwell was honoured with a pompous funeral.

The directions concerning "Publique solemn Fasting," assert, that, "A religious fast requires total abstinence not only from all food,—but also from all worldly labour, discourses, and thoughts, and from all bodily delights (although at other times lawful), rich apparell, ornaments, and such like during the Fast," &c. &c.

The next head, "Concerning the Days of Publique Thanksgiving," contains several obvious, but sensible and appropriate, directions. Then follow some short directions concerning the "singing or Psalmes;" and then an "Appendix touching Dayes and Places for Publique Worship," which says, "Festival days, vulgarly called Holy-days, having no warrant in the Word of God, are not to be continued," &c. &c.

THE END.



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